Beyond Child's Play: Wealth, Status, and the Death of Children in the MH-LH I Periods of the Argolid, Greece

Katherine Schleifer, Master of Arts

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Faculty of Graduate Studies, Brock University
St. Catharines, Ontario

This thesis is dedicated to Thomas Davies, my husband, best friend, and greatest supporter.
I love you.

Abstract

This study explores the mortuary remains of children from the MH-LH I periods of the Argolid, Greece. This examination concentrates on how the child in death acted as a tool for wealth and status display. Here, children are understood to have perpetuated, maintained, and reinforced status distinctions between families in their community. The analysis of one hundred child burials that date to these periods illustrates how the burials of children were important opportunities used by the families of children to display wealth and status. Thus, children can be viewed as important factors in the reorganization of social structure in the transition from the Middle to Late Helladic.

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Beyond Child's Play: Wealth, Status, and the Lives of Children in the MH-LH I Periods of the Argolid, Greece

The importance of children within the vast landscape of ancient history has often been overlooked, repeatedly underappreciated, and seldom recognized as a significant factor in the development and perpetuation of a culture's identity. While it is true that children are not, and have never been, the primary agents of society, it would be remiss to say that children played no part in shaping the social and cultural traditions of their population. Though often dependent on the adult members of their society, children should be recognized as social tools within their communities as they too helped to establish the parameters which define the positions and functions of a population. Despite the fact that there has been a vast amount of scholarship dedicated to the rise of social complexity during the Middle and Late Helladic periods of Mycenaean Greece, there has been little attention afforded to children - a marginalized section of the Mycenaean Bronze Age. Indeed, when thinking about Bronze Age Greece one is not confronted with images of children and their caregivers, but rather Cyclopean fortification, the industry of development, and Mycenaean influence across the mainland. The fact that children have, up until this point, received very little attention is no surprise since they appear to have assumed supporting, not primary, roles in their society. Why

then is it important to look at children as their own category in the Middle and Late Helladic periods of Mycenaean Greece? The truth is, children are often small idealized reflections of adults. Children are formed and influenced by adults, and their presence in the archaeological record, if examined, can illuminate what measure of worth they were afforded in their life, and how that worth helped to reflect their position in the development of society. An archaeology of children inherently comments on the larger workings of the society in which they were raised and allows for one to learn how children's social and cultural environment influenced and formed their responsibilities. The importance of children as instruments for social display can be realized as part of a cyclical process whereby children are influenced and shaped by the society in which they are raised, with children eventually perpetuating the cycle when they become adults with offspring. Bronze Age archaeology has largely ignored this factor. Children were significant contributors in the display and visibility of wealth. A 'whole' archaeology of any culture cannot be recognized without understanding the link between children and change. A responsible and 'whole' archaeology necessitates the removal of children from the periphery and the addition of their category into the archaeological process. By undertaking an archaeology of children, scholars can better understand how the presence of children in the archaeological record can serve to illuminate key aspects of the social structure of a society, and its development over time.

WHY CHILDREN, WHY NOW?

Until this point archaeologists have largely overlooked the category of child in the archaeological investigation of the Mycenaean Bronze Age. Though there has been some

interest concerning their inclusion in the Linear B tablets at Pylos,[1] as well as their depiction in some artistic items that date to these periods,[2] children have otherwise been relegated to the fringes of archaeology. So why bother with children? The truth of the matter is, without a thorough investigation of children's graves during the MH-LH I periods of the Argolid, Greece, it is impossible to understand how, or if, children affected the development of Mycenaean society. It would be short-sighted of any archaeologist to simply exclude one category of the archaeological record simply because he or she *perceives* that category to be non-elucidatory or non-worthy of scholarly discussion. Children, as members of the Mycenaean Bronze Age, warrant study. There are still questions that need to be addressed such as: How did children play a part in the perpetuation of status, the emulation of social rank, and the display of wealth? How were children employed as tools for status display within their family? And, how did children, as visible indicators of wealth and status, help to form the social organization of their community? At the very least such questions are necessary to examine when considering the life of Mycenaean child. Therefore, the goal of this thesis is to help remedy the lack of attention afforded to children from the archaeological research of the MH-LH I periods of Argolid, and to understand how children were used as significant tools for status display, and the perpetuation and reinforcement of status distinctions. The focus of this examination will concentrate on child mortuary remains with particular attention paid to grave goods and manner of burial.

[1] Nosch 2003, 12-22; see also Chadwick 1988, 42-96; Carlier 1999, 185-93.
[2] Rutter 2003, 46-9; see also Olsen 1998.

THE SETTING: TEMPORAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL SPAN

This study focuses its investigatory lens on the archaeological remains of children who date from the Early Middle Helladic to the Late Helladic I periods (MH I/MH II/MH III/LH I), which date from 2070-1500 BCE (Figure 1.2).[3] The primary Mycenaean sites that will be examined from the Argolid include: Argos; Asine; Lerna; Myloi; Mycenae; Prosymna; and Tiryns (Figure 1.1).

The geographical span for this study is limited to the Argolid region, located in the north-eastern corner of the Peloponnese surrounding the northern shore of the bay of Argos and extending to the neighbouring fertile plains and hills. The Argolid was arguably, the cultural, political, and economic centre of the Mycenaean world. For this reason, the Argolid is the perfect region to explore the radical changes of the MH-LH I periods. This region, along with the temporal periods established, have been intentionally selected due to the radical social changes that are understood to have occurred throughout the Argolid during these times. These social upheavals, hypothesized to have been caused by a new access to wealth that began in MH III and continued into the LH I period, are believed to be indicative of the rise of social and political complexity within Mycenaean society. Though the social changes of the Middle and Late Helladic periods continued into Late Helladic II and later, this study restricted its temporal span to the end of Late Helladic I in order to examine a specific time frame in the Bronze Age. Such social and economic developments were realized in the construction of conspicuous structures such as Grave Circle B and A at Mycenae and other rich edifices and graves found throughout the Mycenaean realm.

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[3] Warren and Hankey, 1989.

The Early Bronze Age on the Greek mainland is best witnessed in the sites of Lerna and Tiryns where there was evidence for early habitation and the construction of permanent settlements. The Middle Helladic period on the other hand, witnesses a new stage in the development of the mainland peoples with what is understood to be a set-back from the former achievements observed in the Early Helladic II period. This transitional period has been hypothesized as a 'settling-in' period of a formerly nomadic people who were mixing with the indigenous population.[4] This period is characterized by communities of un-walled agricultural villages which exhibited very little evidence of trade, skilled craftsmanship, and wealth. The architecture of this period is distinguished by apsidal and rectangular buildings, few of which are great in size. The funerary tradition of the age is typified by simple pit and shaft graves with very few, if any, grave goods. There are exceptions however, as some sites exhibit development in wealthy burial practice as early as the MH II period, such as the shaft grave found at Kolonna on Aegina, and shaft graves Ξ and Λ found in Grave Circle B at Mycenae in MH III.[5] There were also developments in the production of pottery, as wheel-made vessels seem to have replaced the earlier tradition of handmade wares. The Middle Helladic period then, exhibits some very interesting changes in the display of wealth, which is evident in the transformation of burial practice and architecture of these times.[6]

The cusp between the end of the Middle Helladic and the beginning of the early Late Helladic (1600-1500 BCE) marks a time that has been linked to the arrival of more proto-Mycenaeans.[7] Despite the fact that there is no evidence for an aggressive invasion

[4] Feuer 2002, 7.
[5] Wohlmayr, 1989.
[6] For a selection of scholarship see: Nordquist 2002; see alsoVoutsaki 2004, 2005; Zerner 1993.
[7] Feuer 2002, 8.

of peoples, this appears to have been a time of radical change. This period is marked by an increase in wealth and power and the development of an elite social class. Though there is a clear continuance in the cultural traditions of the previous periods, there is evidence of an overall increase in the social, political, and economic complexity of the Mycenaeans. While the exact reason for these dramatic changes is unknown, it has been suggested that tribal chieftains and their people took control of strategic locations in the Peloponnese, via their military prowess and advanced weaponry.[8] These new leaders of the Peloponnese established a new social order in which status was prominent in both personal ornamentation and architectural design – a great difference from the assumed poverty and social immobility of the Middle Helladic.

Regardless of the fact that these are just hypotheses, it is important to stress the radical changes that took place at the end of the Middle Helladic and the Early Late Helladic periods. There must have been some stimulus for the development of the new social, economic, and political changes witnessed in the archaeological record from these periods. The archaeological record makes it apparent that adults were not the only members of society affected by these changes – children, without a doubt, were affected.

WHAT IS A CHILD?

One of the problems with looking at children from any time period is the generality of the term. The title 'children' can encompass a considerable range of ages, physical and psychological development, as well as sex. In this respect, this study will also consider 'children' as those individuals who fall between the ages of less than one to

[8] Feuer 2002, 8-9.

ten years of age. While identifying the age of children can be particularly difficult in cases where bone preservation is poor or non-existent, as it is with infants and small children, differentiating between those considered to be 'adult' and 'sub-adult' is vital for creating a physiological framework for comparing and contrasting the variables of grave assemblages. By attempting to examine one hundred graves according to age-at-death of the child, it will be possible to determine whether the display of wealth was directly proportional to the age of the deceased.

Studies show that the onset of puberty varies from person to person, based on physiological makeup, genetics, and overall nutritional state.[9] Other variables that need to be considered are culture and time period. Each culture and time period defines the features of 'child' and 'adult' uniquely. For this reason, it is imperative to establish a logical age cut-off for 'child'. Indeed, it is impossible to know what characteristics marked the cultural shift from 'child' to 'adult' in the Middle and Late Helladic periods. As a result, this study has established the chronological age cut-off to be ten years of age, as this is an age when recognizable physiological changes start to take place in males and females. Although the experience of the child obviously varies by culture and period, many children are purported to take on more active roles in their community at ten years of age, even if the expectations and demands of a ten year old vary enormously among different cultural groups.[10] Moreover, while it is true that a 'universal child' does not exist, nor a definition of child that includes all stages of childhood development, anthropological studies have found that there appears to be a transitional stage from ten to twelve years of age wherein there are both biological and culturally recognized changes

[9] Marshall and Tanner 1969, 291-303.
[10] Ingvarsson-Sundström 2003, 20; see also Kamp 2001, 16.

occurring.[11] As ten years of age is the youngest stage in which children consistently present physiological changes in their biological development and transition socially from childhood to adulthood, this age will act as a primary determinant for all child burials considered. Indeed, despite the fact that ten years of age may not be the 'true' age that marked the Mycenaean transition from child to adult, this examination needed to establish an age limit that helped to qualify children from adults in a formalized manner.

Despite the difficulties in establishing the development of children in the archaeological record, the transition from child to adult is the most visible age change that can be identified archaeologically. What is especially important to remember is that while the liminal transition from childhood to adulthood varies from culture to culture, it also varies within the society of each culture. In other words, not all young boys are necessarily going to transition from childhood to adulthood at the same time, though chronologically they are at the same stage.[12] Some of the requirements for the transition from childhood to adulthood are founded in the ability to complete particular tasks within a society, and represent certain physiological developments which do not occur at the same rate among all children. Consequently, it can often be difficult to establish strict temporal guidelines from which analysis can be undertaken since there will always be variances which confuse an absolute measure. For the purpose of this study it is essential to remove the category of child from the category of adult as an analysis of adults and their graves would confuse the focus of this examination. By restricting this evaluation to the material and skeletal remains of children it is possible to fully appreciate children in the context of childhood. Nevertheless, establishing the indicators and definitions of

[11] Crawford 2000, 170-7.
[12] For further reading see Mair 1972.

'child' is vital for this project. By employing a set matrix of criteria, it is possible to determine the relationship between the age of children and their association with wealth and status.

CURRENT SCHOLARSHIP: WHERE DOES IT STAND?

Current scholarship generally acknowledges that there was a clear rise in social complexity and cultural change in the southern Greek mainland around 1900 BCE, or the beginning of the MH II period.[13] The advent of this time signalled the emergence of social differentiation and the clear stratification of Mycenaean society. While several scholars have argued that the increased wealth from burials in MH II-III marks the clear introduction of social hierarchy, many more contend that extreme caution needs to be taken when interpreting the mortuary evidence as an accurate depiction of the overall structure of Bronze Age society.[14] The marked change in burial practice indicates that there was a significant social revolution in which representation of wealth and status became an integral element for those wishing to assert their place in the community. These demonstrations of wealth and social standing were not, however, limited to the realm of adulthood as children were also participants in the conspicuous display of power and rank.[15]

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[13] For a selection of scholarship from the vast bibliography concerning this topic see: Voutsaki 2004, 1998; see also Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 41-60; 1984; Graziadio 1991; Wright 1987; Dickinson 1982; Jacobsen and Cullen 1981; Georgousopoulou 2004; Nordquist 2002.

[14] The list of scholars who understand the mortuary remains as evidence of social hierarchy include: Graziadio 1991; see also Cavanagh and Mee 1984. Those scholars who caution interpretation include Voutsaki 2004, 1998; see also McHugh 1999.

[15] A perfect example can be observed in the burials of children from Grave Circle A at Mycenae. Specifically, in Grave III, which contained the bodies of two children, there were gold-foil body coverings

What is particularly interesting about the scholarship of the MH-LH I periods of mainland Greece is that while there is a great amount of attention paid to the transformation of mortuary practice, little attention is given to the category of children. With the exception of a small number of scholars who call for equal attention to be granted to all stages of the life cycle, there is reluctance from the archaeological community to explore an archaeology of children.[16] Indeed, reconstructing the child's world presents many difficulties as children are less visible in the material record than their adult counterparts. Scholars argue that because children are not the principal consumers or producers of goods found in material culture the relationship between children and the archaeological record is often confusing and unclear.[17] Baxter states "the apparent distance between children and the material and historical records, combined with a modern tendency to marginalize the importance of children, has led most archaeologists to exclude children from the realm of archaeological inquiry."[18] In spite of this, there has been a significant increase in the scholarship of children in archaeology over the past ten years with at least two books and three volumes of essays dedicated to children and childhood in archaeology and the material record.[19]

Currently, the handful of studies that include Mycenaean children concentrate on the concept of gender, and the examination of child-specific categories of material culture. For instance, Olsen looks at women and children in terms of Minoan and

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and small masks placed with the deceased. Interestingly, these gold grave offerings were manufactured in the same manner as those produced for the adults buried in the other shafts from Grave Circle A.

[16] Nordquist and Ingvarsson-Sundström 2005; see also Ingvarsson-Sundström 2003; Rutter 2003; Sofaer Derevenski 1997; Lillehammer 1989, 2000; Baxter 2005.

[17] Bonnichsen 1973; Hammond and Hammond 1981; Lillehammer 1989; Baxter 2005.

[18] Baxter 2005, 2.

[19] Neils and Oakley 2003; see also Sofaer Derevenski 2000; Baxter 2005, 2006; Wileman 2005.

Mycenaean constructions of gender.[20] By surveying women and children through their inclusion in the Linear B tablets, their depictions in *kourotrophoi* scenes (representations of women holding children), and their iconographic portrayal in Minoan and Theran wall-painting, Olsen considers the roles of women, children, and the family in Aegean prehistory. Olsen is the first scholar to conduct a focused study of the Mycenaean and Minoan child and can be credited with paving the way for future research. Despite the fact that Olsen's work does not concentrate specifically on Mycenaean children, her research does help to dispel gender assumptions about women and children in the Aegean Bronze Age. Olsen is one of the first to recognize the potential wealth of knowledge associated with studying the prehistoric child.

Rutter is another scholar who has taken an archaeological approach to investigating evidence for children in Aegean prehistory. Focusing on child specific categories of material culture, Rutter surveys evidence for children from the Middle Stone Age to the Late Bronze Age in an attempt to construct a better knowledge of the ancient child. Rutter argues that by exploring the "networks of associations established by particular find contexts...we can infer the temporal, social, psychological, religious, or other possible significances of such discoveries."[21] By studying the children over six millennia, Rutter is able to offer a general review of the appearance, activities, and social roles of prehistoric children, and most importantly, highlight the varied evidence for them through space and time. One distinction Rutter makes is that there is a large difference between the representation of the Mycenaean and Minoan child. This dissimilarity is of particular note, since it reinforces the need for an individual archaeology of the

[20] Olsen 1998.
[21] Rutter 2003, 31.

Mycenaean child. Although Rutter's study is rather inclusive in its geographical and temporal span, it does act as a foundation for understanding children in Aegean prehistory. By helping to identify the broad spectrum of children in material culture, Rutter serves to stress the importance of their addition to scholarly discourse.

The most in-depth archaeological survey of Mycenaean children from across the Argolid to date is by Nordquist and Ingvarsson-Sundström.[22] The work of Nordquist and Ingvarsson-Sundström not only provides the data framework for this examination, but also discusses many of the problems that relate to the study of children and childhood in the Aegean Bronze Age. Nordquist and Ingvarsson-Sundström structure their analysis of children from the MH-LH I periods of the Argolid by recognizing children in their capacity as social agents. They comprehend children as social actors with cultural and cognitive facets. Nordquist and Ingvarsson-Sundström examine the material and skeletal remains of over one hundred child burials in order to understand better the lives of prehistoric children. By analyzing grave types, their furnishings, and site locations, Nordquist and Ingvarsson-Sundström are able to complete a survey of the health, mortality, and diet of children. Their work effectively illustrates aspects of the life of the child and offers direction for the future study of children.

In spite of recent interest in the archaeology of childhood and a marked increase in scholarship, there are still many questions that have been left unexplored concerning children and society during the Middle and Late Helladic periods which can be addressed through a survey of children and the material record. While the goal of this project is ultimately to understand how the child acted as an instrument for status display in the MH-LH I periods of the Argolid, Greece, the larger concern of identifying how the child

[22] Nordquist and Ingvarsson-Sundström 2005.

fit into the Mycenaean social and cultural landscape is of equal interest. Building upon the efforts of scholars who have explored different aspects of the child in the Mycenaean Bronze Age, this study concentrates on evidence for the Mycenaean child as an important factor in the perpetuation and reinforcement of status distinctions in society.[23]

THEORETICAL DISCOURSE: CHILDREN AND STATUS

Though several scholars infer that the wealth and mode of burial is a reflection of the status of the dead child's family, the pain stemming from the loss of a future citizen of the community, and the lost hope of a family to continue, these literal interpretations do not completely synthesize the complexities represented in children's burials.[24] Indeed, if the understanding of children's burial contexts is restricted to a basic tally of material goods that are restricted to the funerary realm, then the possibility of recognizing children as tools for social display and prominent markers of wealth is overlooked. If children's burials are recognized as indications of the status and wealth afforded before death, then children can be viewed as entities that perpetuated and reinforced status divisions within their communities.

The groundbreaking research of Lillehammer, Sofaer-Derevenski, and Baxter tackles the theoretical problems of how to examine the life of the child through an archaeology of children.[25] Although none of these scholars concentrate on the Bronze Age Mycenaean child specifically, each examines the child as an active participant in the

[23] Nordquist and Ingvarsson-Sundström 2005; see also Rutter 2003; Olsen 1998; Gates 1992; Liston and Papadopoulos 2004.
[24] A selection of scholars who have made such suggestions include: Pader 1982; Cavanagh and Mee 1984; Baxter 2005.
[25] Lillehammer 2000; see also Sofaer-Derevenski 2000; Baxter 2005.

past. Despite the fact that these scholars admit that children were not the principal agents of the past, they argue that it is necessary to understand the child as an active social agent. An archaeology of children, as defined by Baxter is "about relationships between children and the communities of which they are a part."[26] The goal of an archaeology of children stems from the understanding that children are more than just a social group, but significant cultural actors who make important contributions to their families, communities, and societies. The diverse approaches of many archaeologists and anthropologists to archaeologies of childhood and children comment on shared desire for the end of the traditional treatment of children in archaeological discourse. Lillehammer explains that it is imperative to understand the child in the context of the 'world of children', which is not the same as the world of adults. According to Lillehammer, this "notion highlights the active role of children since the material culture which children produce, or with which they interact, links the child to the environment, adults, and other children and to the social basis of cultural tradition."[27] In order to study properly the life and role of the child from the archaeological record it is imperative to understand the category of child from the child's experience. Lillehammer expands:

> ...the theoretical scope of the world of children allows the adaptive or creative process of learning and coping in the world to be linked to the biological and cultural development of children by focusing on cultural transference and innovation in the production and reproduction of material cultural.[28]

According to this line of thought, understanding the world of the child requires that the child has an active and unique position which cannot be properly studied within the parameters of the adults' world. Similarly, Sofaer-Derevenski argues, "the development

[26] Baxter 2006, 6.
[27] Lillehammer 2000, 20-1.
[28] Lillehammer 2000, 20.

of the child provides a mechanism for change and a potential means of understanding cultural production and reproduction, for in questioning the role of children, we are questioning the foundations of society itself."[29] What Sofaer-Derevenski suggests here is that children are inherently linked to their society – it is not possible to understand one without understanding the other. The theoretical basis for this study is built on the principal that children are active members of society, no matter how small a part they may have played in the social intercourse of their culture, they served as an important feature of their community's social development, and should be recognized as such.

The question of status and social organization plays an important role in this study, as it has been a central point of focus in the discussion of mortuary theory for several decades. Indeed, there has been a considerable amount of change in the theoretical approaches of the study of mortuary practice in archaeology over the past twenty-five years. Through the work of Saxe, Binford, and Tainter and Cordy, mortuary theory has been greatly influenced by the idea that burials are representative of social organization, and that the mortuary realm is governed by cross-cultural 'laws'.[30] Despite these advances, the theoretical approaches of these scholars share many flaws as mortuary theory is not an exact science.[31] Scholars such as Morris have continued to develop mortuary theory by refining the work that helped to define the field and have, in some ways, expanded beyond the constrictions set out by the pioneers of archaeological mortuary thought.[32] One of the problems with the previous scholarship of Binford, Tainter, Cordy and Saxe, was that they each supposed burials to be an accurate

[29] Sofaer-Derevenski 1994, 16.
[30] Saxe 1970; see also Binford 1971; Tainter & Cordy 1975,1978.
[31] For discussion concerning the theoretical approaches of each scholar see McHugh 1999.
[32] Morris, 1992.

representation of a society's social structure at the time of death.[33] In other words, the funerary collection would be a reflection of the social structure of the population at the time of interment, not over time. The burial was viewed as a static representation of society – passivity, not activity, defined the burial. This theory, however, is no longer considered to be entirely accurate since the conditions and conceptions of burials are now understood to be part of the larger process of the creation and modification of social structure throughout the ages. With the advancement of mortuary studies and the advent of postprocessual thought, many archaeologists have adopted the theory of structuration as a key component of their research strategy. Structuration, as developed by Giddens, is the theory that human action functions within a pre-existing social structure that is governed by a set of customs and/or laws that are distinct from other social structures.[34] In other words, human behaviour is determined by previously established social rules which are constantly evolving by continued human action. As adopted by archaeologists and anthropologists alike, structuration is the principal that the conditions and conceptions of burials are part of the larger process of the creation and modification of social structure.[35] These changes are most generally recognized in the process of state formation and cultural identity, as exemplified by the Middle and Late Bronze Age. For example, the more obvious changes in the burial tradition of Mycenaeans in the Middle Helladic can be witnessed in the introduction of the shaft graves from Grave Circle B at Mycenae.[36] Grave Circle B isolates particular burials which were ostensibly reserved for

[33] Saxe 1970; see also Binford 1971; Tainter & Cordy 1975,1978.
[34] Giddens, 1984.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Specifically, the introduction shaft graves clustered together within the larger parameters of the Grave Circle B enclosure.

a select group, and as such, serves as a visual and physical reminder of a newly established social order within the community.[37]

In this study, structuration will help to illustrate how the changing social structure of Mycenaean society also resulted in the changing burial practices of the Mycenaeans with the advent of more elaborate and wealthy burials such as Grave Circle A and later, the Treasury of Atreus. One of the principal assertions that one can make by employing structuration to the funerary realm is that burials, and correspondingly deaths, are opportunities for the living to assert and legitimize their power through ancestral association. The application of this theory holds particular importance when considering the graves of children since the death and burial of a child would have been a visible opportunity for political and economic display. In addition, structuration can help to understand how the child was used as a tool for social presentation and the maintenance and perpetuation of status differences in society.

Despite the fact that this examination concentrates on the burial and death of the child, which admittedly assumes the position of the child to be inactive, the combination of these two theoretical discourses helps to bring the archaeological potential of the child to life. Both structuration and the theory of the 'active' child assumed by an archaeology of children, help to illustrate how the burial of the child could be used in the interplay of social intercourse among the Mycenaeans. By employing the strengths of each theory, the formation and perpetuation of social constructs and the ability of children to act as visible markers of wealth, it is possible to recognize the archaeological duality of childrens' burials. The burial of the child can be understood as part of a system of

[37] For discussion concerning the use of burials as advertisements for the living see Morris 1987; see also Houlby-Nielsen 1995.

cultural tradition that is in perpetual flux due to the continually changing social demands of the community. The potentiality of these two theories can serve to illuminate how the family members of the deceased could have used their child's burial for social jockeying. Children can be understood as active in terms of an archaeology of children by recognizing that children would have been active members of their society who had interaction with wealth and status before they died. While their burials are inactive, childrens' burial collections do comment on how they would have been used as tools for social display before they died. One of the key functions of these theoretical processes is to highlight the interconnectivities between the social and cultural categories, children's burials, and the importance of children to the development of the Middle and Late Helladic. By recognizing the category of children and children's functions in society before death it is possible to understand the child from both the inactive and active perspective.

CHILD BURIALS: THE PROBLEMS

What is particularly striking about child graves from the MH-LH I periods is the marked increase in the grave goods, both valuable and commonplace, and their manner of burial which varied from the simple and sometimes communal, to the more elaborate and expensive. The challenge of examining children's graves from these time periods does not just rest in the variations of grave assemblages, but the difficulty in attempting to understand how such burials can be reflective of the lives of children. Despite the complexity of merely identifying the presence of children in the archaeological record,

there are several other problems with undertaking an archaeology of children that need to be addressed.

One of the problems with exploring an archaeology of children is the lack of evidence for their presence in the material record. Children were obviously a large part of the Bronze Age population, despite the fact that there was most certainly a high child mortality rate.[38] Why then are there so few children's objects found by archaeologists in the Argolid? One needs to consider first that children were rarely given items to interact and play with aside from those that were also used by adults, and they are therefore unrecognized for their dual-usage. Second, it is possible that the toys that were given to children are not identified by, or visible to, archaeologists. Third, children's toys are not present as they were created from organic materials that do not survive in the archaeological record. The playthings and items of childhood may have been made from textiles and wood since such materials are better suited than metal and stone for young children. As such, archaeologists must approach an interpretation of children's burials with sensitivity to their unique life stage.

Another problem that plagues children's graves throughout the Argolid region is the poor preservation of skeletal remains. Although children's bones do not survive well in general, since they are quite soft and only calcify with age, the Argolid region especially does not preserve bones well since it is neither extremely arid or cold, nor does its soil have the ideal pH value.[39] Since children's bones are often fragmentary or not visible in the archaeological record, children's presence is sometimes ignored and more often overlooked for their lack of grave goods and skeletal remains. Approximating an

[38] Ingvarsson-Sundström 2003.
[39] Ingvarsson-Sundström 2003, 29.

age-at-death for children's skeletal remains is inherently difficult as the deterioration of their bones does not always allow accurate dating. For this reason, age-at-death is often estimated based on the remaining skeletal remains and sometimes cannot be determined at all.[40] Instances where an age-at-death is not possible to determine stem from a lack of the following skeletal remains: teeth, complete measurable bones, bones that indicate ossification and epiphyseal fusion, and bones that can be compared to reference skeletons.[41] Indeed, it is these four criteria which help osteologists determine the age-at-death of children as well as separate their remains from those of adults. In terms of separating the remains of a child and the remains of an adult, osteologists would consider the four criteria listed above in order to establish an age-at-death, recognizing that dramatic changes in the growth of the skeleton slow from the age of ten to fifteen.[42]

It should also be noted that the poor preservation of children's skeletal remains makes gender identification almost impossible. While some site reports acknowledge the burial of a child and comment on its sex, more often than not it is due to the archaeologist's interpretation of the child's associated grave goods, not osteological examination. Such instances of sexing can be quite detrimental to the study of children as they assume a socially constructed engendering of children that is reflected by the grave goods of the child and not osteological evidence. An example of this would be the common assumption that weaponry would indicate a male burial, and jewellery and cookery a female burial. Therefore, this study will ignore the category of gender altogether since there is not enough evidence in the one hundred child remains examined,

[40] Nordquist and Ingvarsson-Sundström 2005, 156-7.
[41] Ingvarsson-Sundström 2003, 39.
[42] Ingvarsson-Sundström 2003, 27ff.

and though it could add an interesting component to understanding how the child functioned as a tool for social display, it is not strictly necessary.

While the above mentioned problems are certainly the primary issues that archaeologists and anthropologists experience when trying to navigate the funerary remains, they are by no means exhaustive. Children's burials are complicated and frustrating minefields to navigate. The question of how much of the child burial is a commentary on the life of the child and how much is a narration of tradition, socially dictated display, social emulation, and/or grief always remains. While there is no way to resolve entirely issues of interpretation and preservation, when archaeologists are prepared to accept the problems, the rewards of an archaeology of children far outweigh the trials of scholarship.

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

One of the most difficult prospects of an archaeology of children is adopting a methodological framework from which study can be conducted. With the remains of children from the Argolid being scattered it is difficult to amass a collection of graves large enough for adequate study. Either children's graves are mentioned briefly in site reports and not given further study, or they are acknowledged with only brief analysis. For this reason, this examination employs the database of children's graves compiled by Nordquist and Ingvarsson-Sundström, as they have created the most comprehensive database of published child burials from the Argolid to date.[43] By utilizing the database of child burials amassed by Nordquist and Ingvarsson-Sundström and modifying it for the

[43] Nordquist and Ingvarsson-Sundström 2005.

purpose of this study, it will be possible to undertake a thorough and comprehensive examination of child burials.[44]

The database of Nordquist and Ingvarsson-Sundström records only published and osteologically examined child burials from the Argolid region from the Middle and Early Late Helladic periods, and records information such as grave location, name of grave, date, age-at-death, grave type, and associated finds.[45] By constructing a database in Microsoft Access© with the information provided from the database of Nordquist and Ingvarsson-Sundström, it is possible to examine each child grave independently and in relation to others from the MH-LH I periods. The benefit of such a program is that the evidence for the total wealth of children's grave collections can be made apparent by organizational manipulation of the data. By employing a program such as Microsoft Access©, the database can be searched and organized according to specific category entries (e.g. date, grave types, pottery, site, etc.), which allows one to understand patterns of burial according to the inclusions from each cateogory. Furthermore, by utilizing a database designed with the intention of comparing and contrasting child graves from the MH-LH I, it is possible to understand changes in burial wealth and assemblages over time. The advantage of such a database is that one can easily modify, search, and study the remains of one hundred child burials that date to these periods. In addition, specific data from this database can then be utilized in other methodological processes such as ranking.

[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid.

The primary method of evaluation that will be used for this study, in conjunction with the above mentioned database, is the ranking approach of Graziadio.[46] Graziadio, who has examined the shaft graves from Mycenae in terms of social stratification, uses histograms to illustrate the correlation between the worth of an object and status. Concentrating on the shaft grave periods from Mycenae, which date to the MH III-LH I periods, Graziadio employs histograms and an established table of worth in order to evaluate richness in pottery, vessels, weapons, armour, tools, jewellery, and ornaments during these periods. After assigning each grave a total amount of worth according to the quantity and quality of grave goods, Graziadio compares the graves to others that date to the same periods. By applying this method of examination, Graziadio is able to calculate the richness of burials from Grave Circle B at Mycenae and determine trends in burial over the Middle and Late Helladic periods.[47]

For the purpose of this study, Graziadio's methodological process is particularly helpful as it offers a systematic and measurable system from which one can evaluate the worth of children's grave collections. By modifying Graziadio's approach for the purpose of ranking the graves of children, it is possible to understand how children and their graves were affected by the developing social complexities of the time. Indeed, by expanding on the mortuary object categories established by Graziadio, this study is able to measure a greater range of variables: Grave Type, Pottery, Jewellery/Ornament, Weapon, Organic/Natural, and Miscellaneous.[48] Each item and grave feature (i.e. Grave Type) that is recorded in the database of Nordquist and Ingvarsson-Sundström is recorded in this examination's database and afforded a set value. The value of the item ranks on a

[46] Graziadio 1991, 403-40.
[47] Graziadio 1991, 95.
[48] Graziadio's mortuary object categories included: pottery, vessels, weapons, armour, tools and jewellery.

scale of 1-10 based on its perceived worth, as determined by the design, function and material of the item/feature in relation to other items in the same category. Though this is obviously not an accurate measure of ranking, it does serve the purpose of this study as it offers a set value to each item/feature of the burial assemblage, which allows for the total richness of graves to be measured over time. It is important to note that it is the *process* of ranking that serves to illustrate measurable changes in the richness of children's burials over time, not the historical truth of its wealth assignments. It is the nature of ranking that allows one to understand the relative wealth distributed among children's graves. Ranking makes it possible to determine how much the burials of children developed over time. More importantly, ranking allows one to comment on how these changes in the wealth of the burial reflect on the larger questions of how children were used as tools for social display, and how their interaction and visibility with wealth stimulated and perpetuated the status distinctions within their communities.

CHAPTER ORGANIZATION

This thesis is organized in such a manner that it allows for one to understand what is meant by an archaeology of children, and why the study of children is so important for the scholarship of the Mycenaean Bronze Age. The introductory chapter introduced the reader to the idea of children in the past, the difficulties of studying them, where current scholarship stands, and the methodological and theoretical approaches employed for this study. The goal of this thesis is to understand how the use of children as social tools for the perpetuation and emulation of status distinctions changed from the

Middle to Late Helladic periods. The investigation of children during these periods is of particular interest as children were not isolated from the extreme changes in the social, political, and economical spheres of the ages. The following three chapters will examine, analyze, and discuss the funerary remains of one hundred Mycenaean children that date from the Middle to Late Helladic periods of the Argolid, Greece.

Chapter Two offers an overview of the Argolid region, the Middle and Late Helladic periods, and the specific sites that will be included in this examination. Chapter Two also surveys all of the items/feature of children's grave assemblages in order to understand the variances in each category type. This thorough analysis serves as the foundation for the comprehensive examination of the entire burial collection in Chapters Three and Four. The primary aim of this chapter is to illustrate the grave goods, manner of burial, location, age-at-death, and time period of children buried in the Argolid from the Middle and Early Late Helladic based on the findings from Ingvarsson-Sundström and Nordquist.[49]

Chapter Three assigns wealth units to all one hundred child graves according to the ranking process outlined in Chapter One. The primary goal of this chapter is to rank and analyze the entire collection of graves as a whole. This will be achieved by a general survey of graves by item/feature and category type. Following this, the histograms illustrating richness from each site are discussed in order to understand the trends of wealth illustrated by this process.

Chapter Four synthesizes the research of the first three chapters in order to draw conclusions about the life of children as social tools in the Middle and Late Helladic periods. This will be accomplished by analyzing the assigned wealth units established in

[49] Nordquist and Ingvarsson-Sundström 2005.

Chapter Three, and further categorizing them according to groups of wealth. Each of these groups of wealth will then be analyzed in terms of the collection of funerary goods/features present, and how the grave inclusions in each wealth group offer clues about how children were visible indicators of wealth and status in the Mycenaean social landscape. Finally, conclusions will be drawn about the function of life of children in the MH-LH I periods, what this examination has offered, and where scholarship can continue in the future.

Chapter Two
Hide and Seek: A Survey of the Evidence

The death of an individual is often observed in a perceivable shift in the landscape of a community. Whether it is manifest in the physical burial terrain of the settlement or in the symbolic gestures and discourse of a community's mourning tradition, death rarely goes unnoticed or uncelebrated. This fact, while generally true for the death of an adult, is not always so for the passing of a child. The burials of children from the MH-LH I periods of the Argolid range from simple pit burials with no grave inclusions to wealthy shaft graves with precious metals and imported goods. Although mortuary tradition varies from culture to culture, the complexity or involvedness of children's burials in the Mycenaean Bronze Age is presumably related to the status of the dead child's family, and the child's interaction with wealth before death.

The primary aim of this chapter is to illustrate the grave goods, manner of burial, location, age-at-death, and the chronology of child burials from the MH-LH I periods of the Argolid. By examining the characteristics of funerary tradition by location it is possible to understand how children's burials may have been affected by the wealth and development associated with their settlement. After indentifying the intricacies of the one hundred child burial assemblages scattered throughout the Argolid, the grave categories of each burial will be plotted into date specific categories. The goal of this

evaluation is to be able to identify changes in the burial assemblage over time and space and to understand how children were employed as vessels for social display in accordance with the contemporary social developments of Mycenaean society.

DATABASE

The child burials examined in this study consist entirely of those recorded by Nordquist and Ingvarsson-Sundström; however, this analysis will only examine one hundred of the burials from their database as they consider child burials with an age-at-death greater than ten years of age.[1] The one hundred child burials employed in this study are illustrated according to site in Figure 2.2. In addition to recording the location (i.e. site), name, date, and age-at-death, this database pays particular attention to the type of grave goods deposited with the children. The grave goods will be organized according to category type, making it easier to determine what kinds of objects were offered to the deceased child, how children were buried, and whether there are any identifiable tendencies in the mourners' choices. The data can then be analyzed to establish trends in grave goods based on the age of the deceased child, location, time period, and form of burial. Furthermore, each category type can be assigned a quantifiable value to be added to the total value of the burial and charted to illustrate changes in assemblage wealth over time. From such analysis, it is possible to infer whether certain trends within the burial tradition were directly related to position of the child as a tool for social display.

[1] Nordquist and Ingvarsson-Sundström 2005.

PROBLEMS WITH THE DATA:

One of the problems in attempting to collect a massive amount of data from seven different archaeological sites is that these sites were excavated at different times, by different archaeologists, using various archaeological methods. The inherent problem with such diverse excavations and methodologies is the inconsistency of data and the variability of published reports from site to site. The variety of the data presents several difficulties when combining the information from each of these sites into the category specific datasets designed for this study. These disparities often necessitate the assimilation of data with separate, but similar terminology.

One difficult problem with which archaeologists are faced when examining the data from children's graves has to do with multiple burials. For instance, if there is a burial that includes five items of pottery, two pieces of jewellery, a bronze sword, several shells, and pieces of charcoal scattered throughout the tomb, in addition to the remains of two children and one adult, how would one be able to definitively ascertain which items were deposited with which individual? In instances such as this, archaeological reports and field notebooks become especially important as they can offer details on the positioning of items in relation to bodies within the grave assemblage. Here, it is the discretion of the archaeologist and his interpretation of the site that determines the association of object to individual. Most often, it is proximity to the body that acts as the deciding factor in ownership. In this study, the assignment of goods is dictated by the site report, and while there is always the possibility that the archaeologist's theory of association is incorrect, this is the best way to associate grave goods to skeletons.

Another issue that creates a problem is the varied terminology used by archaeologists. Not only does this problem stem from the various languages in which publications appear, but it is also the result of a lack of formalized terminology for mortuary archaeology. The problem with such mixed terminologies is that it is often difficult to know whether site reports are referring to the same characteristic or feature of burial, or if there is something unique that applies to that particular site alone. For instance, some archaeologists use the term 'stone-cist' for cists specifically constructed of stone, and other archaeologists use the term 'cist' as a catchall for all grave types, constructed from various materials, that are essentially rectangular in shape with some sort of additional covering or structural support. Furthermore, site reports often fail to describe fully the terminology being used and therefore, one must guess what the archaeologist is trying to describe.

A further problem is the lack of information concerning the location of children's graves. While some site reports are especially detailed concerning the positioning of graves within the archaeological remains of the site, as well as in relation to the other graves excavated, others are less detailed and do not mention whether the graves are considered to be intra- or extramural burials. This can sometimes make it difficult to compare one site to another to discern any variances or commonalties of burial tradition and location. Another obstacle for current scholarship is that many archaeological sites do not have a great deal of information on their excavation history. Therefore, the history of the site and the extensiveness of excavation cannot be fully appreciated.

Even with all the complications of data, the work of the archaeologists who excavated these sites needs to be commended. Many contemporary archaeologists and

scholars would not have taken the time to document the graves of children. Though the data is sometimes spotty and inconsistent, it still allows for the current examination of children during the MH-LH I periods. In fact, some of these archaeologists, such as Caskey, helped to develop new methods of archaeological excavation, documentation, and analysis.[2]

CATEGORIES OF DATA

The Grave Types within this study are often self-explanatory, but should be described nonetheless. Here, the terminology is based on the database of Nordquist and Ingvarsson-Sundström, though the descriptions of grave type architecture are derived from the work of Cavanagh and Mee.[3] Although Figure 2.3 lists only the grave types associated with this corpus of child graves, it is not exhaustive in terms of Grave Types found in the Middle and Late Helladic periods of the Argolid, Greece.

Grave Type

Pit graves can be understood as excavated holes in the ground that sometimes has a gravel or pebble floor, but is more often than not a simple pit (Figure 2.3). Pit graves can be of any shape, though in most instances the shape of the excavated pit is not mentioned, nor are earth-cut and rock-cut pits explicitly distinguished. Pit graves are covered and filled with soil, though one should not rule out the possibility that the child

[2] Caskey 1968.
[3] Cavanagh and Mee 1998; see also Nordquist and Ingvarsson-Sundström 2005.Cavanagh and Mee offer a more thorough description of grave type as Nordquist and Ingvarsson-Sundström were simply offering an overview of child funerary collections in the Argolid.

could have been wrapped or covered by items of an organic nature that do not survive in the archaeological record such as grass, leaves, or textiles. Though there is no evidence for organic coverings for the deceased in the Argolid, there are examples from Egypt

Jar burials have the bodies of children placed in a jar which is then set into another grave type. Though the surrounding grave type varies, Nordquist and Ingvarsson-Sundström's database does not discriminate between jar burials that are placed in shafts, pits, or cists. It should be noted however, that most jar burials were merely placed in a pit with few, if any, additional grave inclusions. As such, this study will consider jar burials as one category rather than further confuse the ranking by adding additional characteristics to the grave assemblage.

Cists, stone cists or semi-cists are often rectangular shaped graves lined wholly or partially in stone slabs, or mud-bricks. All cists share a similarity of shape and function, though they can vary in materials. Cists, semi-cists, and stone cists often have horizontal and vertical stone slabs that help to retain the shape of the grave, as well as orthostats.[4] Cists are understood to be rectangular in shape with a stone slab that covers the grave area. Stone cists are recognized as rectangular in shape and have stone slabs that cover the opening of the grave as well as the walls of the grave itself. Semi-cists are understood to be rectangular in shape and partially covered with stone slabs. Mud-brick cists are also rectangular in shape though they are always constructed with mud-brick and sometimes lined with raw clay.

The shaft grave is a burial type formed from a deep and narrow shaft that is often sunk into natural rock. Shaft graves can also be constructed within excavated earth that is

[4] Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 26.

then lined in massive stones slabs along the side walls, with large stone slabs covering the top as well.

Stone-cut graves are burials that have been cut into a natural stone outcrop and are often covered with a rock slab. Though similar in many ways to the pit grave, stone-cut graves have been cut into stone and not soil, and are therefore not considered a pit.

Pottery

Pottery encompasses all forms and shapes of ceramic vessel, including sherds, found within children's grave, as well as jars and pithoi in which the bodies of children have been placed. It should be noted that this also includes pottery that has been placed in close proximity to the child, and is therefore likely to be associated with the child in cases of multiples burials. Refer to Figure 2.4.

Jewellery/Ornament

This category includes objects that are thought to be used as jewellery which include: paste, faience, and valuable stone beads; clay ornaments as well as pins and other decorative items made from precious metals. Ornaments are qualified as those items that are decorative in nature but not strictly used as jewellery, such as gold sheets and bronze wire. Refer to Figure 2.5.

Weapon/Tool

The category of Weapon/Tool is comprised of any kind of weapon, but primarily swords, daggers and axes (Figure 2.6). Other weapon types include arrowheads and

knives. Tools are identified as axes and obsidian blades; as such items could have been used as instruments in production.

Organic/Natural

Organic/Natural items are recognized as carbon, shells, and unrefined animal bones (Figure 2.7). While this category is somewhat vague, it is difficult to categorize items of an unrefined organic or natural composition. Items from nature that are not refined by humans fall into this category, which includes foodstuffs and raw materials such as ivory and precious stones.

Miscellaneous

Miscellaneous is the most non-specific category and serves as a sundry category for those items that are not similar to the other groupings (Figure 2.8). Items that are included in this category range from terracotta whorls to crystal vessels and bone awls. All of the items that are classified in this category have been refined.

SURVEY OF THE SITES

This section offers a brief introduction to the history of each site to contextualize the location and characteristic nature of the location. Though all burials are not examined individually, any significant inclusions or characteristics of settlements are noted.

Lerna

The site of Lerna is located ten kilometres south of Argos on the shore of the Gulf of Argos (Figure 2.1). Lerna has a history of occupation that spans over five thousand years from the 6th to 1st millenniums BCE. The land surrounding Lerna is rich and arable, with close access to the sea for fishing and commerce, an abundant amount of fresh water, as well as sufficient resources of stone and clay for building.

According to Caskey, the excavator of the site from 1952-1958 under the American School in Athens, there are six identifiable periods in the development of Lerna.[5] The earlier periods of the Neolithic settlement at Lerna are typified by simple multi-room dwellings made from stone and several examples of pottery. The graves that date to this period are simple intramural pit graves with plain pottery offerings. Period three, which dates to the Early Helladic, was a period of major development with the construction of large buildings, such as the House of the Tiles, and the fortification of the site with at least two watchtowers. The end of the Early Helladic saw a destruction of these advancements.

The Fourth and Fifth Periods date to Early Helladic III and the Middle Helladic, and are distinguished by a rebuilding of the settlement. Almost all of the buildings from these periods are apsidal with a front porch, main hall, and inner room. The fortifications that are characteristic of Period Three are no longer present. There is evidence of one small megaron.

The final period of occupation at Lerna, Period Six dates from the Middle Helladic to Late Helladic I, and illustrates little change in the design and layout of the

[5] Caskey 1968.

settlement. It does, however, witness the introduction of two large shaft graves similar to those seen in Grave Circle B at Mycenae.[6]

There are forty nine examples of intramural child burials that date from the Middle and Early Late Helladic at Lerna (Figure 2.10). In light of this there is the possibility that additional burials and cemeteries exist outside of Lerna proper since there is at least one building, Building BG, which extends beyond the current excavation area. Furthermore, the nine burials at Myloi, 400m to the north of the site, and those found at Mill's Food Property 300m to the south of the site, are understood to be extramural cemeteries of the settlement (Figure 2.9).[7]

Of the forty-nine child graves from Lerna that date from MH I to LH I, no more than sixteen have been dated to specific time periods within the Middle and Late Helladic.[8] The environmental conditions at Lerna, in conjunction with the major periods of rebuilding, have resulted in the accurate dating of only sixteen of the forty-nine child burials. As a result, the remaining thirty-three burials have only been assigned to the Middle Helladic period with no further specificity. This means that the majority of graves from Lerna have been dated generally to the Middle Helladic which makes it difficult to understand these thirty-three graves in terms of their development over the more specific temporal divisions of the Middle Helladic.

The earliest period considered for the purpose of this study is MH I and there are only two child burials which can be dated to this time. One grave included the body of a

[6] Caskey 1968, 316.
[7] Dietz and Divari-Valakou 1990, 45.
[8] For further reading please see: Blackburn 1970, 93-4; see also Angel 1971, 55.

twelve month old child in a pit as well as a flask.[9] The second grave is of particular interest because it contains the bodies of an infant and a child. The infant, thought to be half to one month in age, was buried with another child aged five to ten years. Both of these children were buried in a jar which also contained one knobbed jar, one jar fragment, and an obsidian blade.[10]

There are four burials that can accurately be assigned to MH II. Three of these were in simple pits and one was in a stone cist. The ages of the children buried in the pits ranged from eighteen months to four and half years, whereas the child buried in the stone cist was six years of age. Those children who were laid to rest in the pits were all buried with pottery which included one cup, one jar, one bowl and one jug, as well as two flat pebbles, quartz, and an oyster shell. The child that was placed in the stone cist had a grave collection which included one bowl or cup and tortoise-shell fragments. In addition to these burials, there were also two other child graves which are dated to the MH II-MH III periods. Both of these grave types were in the form of cists; one was a semi-cist and the other a stone cist. The infant in the semi-cist was thought to have been eight months of age and was buried with one kantharos and one knobbed jar.[11] The child from the stone cist is posited to be twelve months old and buried with one cup, one bowl, and a terracotta whorl.[12]

Of the four burials that can be accurately dated to MH III, two were found to be buried in mudbrick cists, one in a stone cist and one in a pit. The two oldest children, aged nine and a half and five years of age, were both interred in mudbrick cists, each

[9] Nordquist and Ingvarsson-Sundström 2005, 171; see also Zerner 1990, 35; Blackburn 1970, 99-100.
[10] Nordquist and Ingvarsson-Sundström 2005, 173; see also Zerner 1990, 24; Blackburn 1970, 86.
[11] Nordquist and Ingvarsson-Sundström 2005, 171; see also Zerner 1990, 3; Blackburn 1970, 105-6.
[12] Assumed to be a spindle whorl, but lack of detail in notes. See Nordquist and Ingvarsson-Sundström 2005, 171; see also Zerner 1990, 31; Blackburn 1970, 15 0-51.

sharing the same type of grave good – pottery.[13] It should be noted; however, that the child of nine and a half years was offered a miniature piece of pottery in the form of a jug – which will be ranked higher for the purpose of this study since miniature objects are not as common, and are thought to have been made specifically for child burials.[14] The child buried in the stone cist was one and a half years of age, and was found with one small cup.[15] The final child burial that dates to MH III is the only one from this period which is a multiple internment. The child, determined to be eleven months old, was buried with four adults in a pit. The only grave good thought to be associated with the child, according to its proximity to the body, is one jar.[16]

In the tradition of mortuary archaeology it is often difficult to date graves precisely without the help of particular items which can help with relative or absolute dating. As such, there are thirty-three graves that have been dated to the Middle Helladic Period from Lerna with no further temporal categorization. Twenty-four of these burials were interred in a pit, jar, stone cist or semi-cist. The majority have been given an age-at-death of under one year of age, seven were between the ages of one and eight years of age, and two were unable to be given age-at-death. Eleven children were buried in pits, five were placed in jars, five in stone cists and three in semi-cists. The children from one to eight years of age were buried in either mudbrick or stone cists. There were two mudbrick cists, containing the bodies of a four and a half and eight year old. The five stone cists had children aged four and a half, five, five and a half, and six and a half

[13] Nordquist and Ingvarsson-Sundström 2005, 171; see also Zerner 1990, 33; Blackburn 1970, 96, 166-7.
[14] Further discussion on the importance of miniature objects in the graves of children will be presented in the analysis of Chapter Three.
[15] Nordquist and Ingvarsson-Sundström 2005, 171; see also Zerner 1990, 33; Blackburn 1970, 97-8.
[16] Nordquist and Ingvarsson-Sundström 2005, 171; see also Zerner 1990, 31; Blackburn 1970, 40-2.

years. The two children whose age-at-death was unable to be determined were buried in a stone cist and a jar.

The grave goods found among the burials of the children less than one year of age who were buried in pits, jar, stone cist and semi-cists share some similarities, though several graves exhibit more goods than others. In the category of Pottery, there were three piriform jars, one spouted jar, one jar base, one cup, fragments of a coarse vessel, and one knobbed jar. Jewellery included one faience bead, fifteen paste beads, one unidentified bead, three crystal beads, three bronze rings, one bone pin, one bone ring, and one bronze pin. Ornaments included various bronze fragments thought to be the remains of an ornament, and a bronze wire. The organic/natural finds include charred grains, animal bones, ash, and a cowry shell. In the category of Miscellaneous there were five obsidian blades, one bone awl, and an obsidian arrow. It should be noted that all of the graves included a grave offering.

There were several notable and distinct grave goods found with the seven skeletons who were buried in mudbrick and stone cists that are identified to be between the ages of one and eight at their time of death. The first of the two four and a half year olds was buried with a bone lid and obsidian, while the other was found to have only a flint flake. The five and a half year old had jar pottery fragments as well as a miniature terracotta whorl. The six and a half year old had several goods including one bronze ring, two bone pins, obsidian, shells and charred grain. The eight year old on the other hand, was only found with traces of obsidian.

The two child graves unable to be given a date-at-death were buried in a stone cist and a jar, and were found with a bone bead and a bronze rivet, and the other, a knobbed jar and a bone pin.

Myloi

The village of Myloi is the closest modern hamlet to the ancient site of Lerna situated on the western side of the Argive gulf (Figure 2.1). In 1966 a two-day rescue excavation was undertaken in the village to preserve nine graves that date from MH III-LH I. While little is known about why these nine graves were constructed outside the settlement of Lerna, they are believed to be connected to the site because they are contemporary with Lerna's occupation, there is no evidence of a separate settlement, and they are close in proximity to the site of Lerna (Figure 2.11). Seven of the nine graves excavated at Myloi are cist graves, one is a pit grave, and the other grave is unable to be identified because of destruction from modern earthwork. It should be noted that there was another small cemetery excavated at Mill's Food Property approximately 300 m to the south of Lerna, which also constitutes an extramural cemetery roughly dating to the same period.[17]

Dietz and Divari-Valakou argue that these extramural internments are suggestive of a shift in burial trends that occurred during the Late Middle Helladic and Early Late Helladic.[18] Though these graves are not part of the settlement of Lerna proper, they

[17] Dietz and Divari-Valakou 1990, 45; see also Nordquist 2002. This cemetery was not included in this examination since it did not include burials of children.
[18] Dietz and Divari-Valakou 1990, 62.

should be identified with the stages of settlement growth understood to have taken place at Lerna.

Grave V from Myloi contained a child burial that dates to either MH III or LH I. This burial contained one child whose age-at-death was unable to be determined. This child was buried in a cist with a cup, jar and jug pottery inclusions, as well as a terracotta whorl or weight (Figure 2.12).[19]

Mycenae

Mycenae lies between two hills, Profitis Ilias and Sara, on a low-lying plateau on the Argive plain (Figure 2.1). Strategically located, Mycenae controlled routes to both the sea and surrounding land.

Systematic excavations took place at Mycenae in 1874 by Schliemann who was then succeeded by the Greek Archaeological Society from 1886-1902. In 1920-1923, 1939, 1950-1957 the British School at Athens excavated extensively at Mycenae under Wace, who uncovered parts of the palace and cemeteries. In 1952-1955 Papadimitriou and Mylonas from the Greek Archaeological Society excavated Grave Circle B and several houses scattered below the lower citadel. Taylor uncovered the religious centre in 1959 with further excavation by the Greek Archaeological Society from 1969-1974.[20] Presently, Iakovidis is Director of excavations at Mycenae.

The site was first occupied in the Neolithic period but few remains from the early habitation are visible today due to the continual development and resettlement of the site. Though Middle Helladic domestic architecture is generally underrepresented,

[19] Dietz and Divari-Valakou 1990, 52-4.
[20] Psychogiou 2007.

archaeologists have found a small settlement on the hill with a cemetery with simple burials on the southwest slope that dates to the early second millennium BCE. Grave Circle B, a stone-built burial enclosure with monumental graves and goods was constructed around 1700 BCE, or MH III. The Late Helladic, or Mycenaean period, at Mycenae is marked by the construction of several structures including a large 'palace' and the enclosure around Grave Circle A. The early Late Helladic is also marked by the first tholos tombs to be erected on the hill. The Late Helladic period included the construction of a palace, fortification walls, tholos tombs, including the Treasury of Atreus, the Lion Gate, and an underground cistern in the LH III period. The site was abandoned around 1100 BCE after several destructions, and later occupied in the Archaic and Classical periods until it was ultimately abandoned by the first century BCE.

The cemeteries that contain the burials of children from Mycenae consist of the famous Grave Circles B and A, as well as the Prehistoric Cemetery that lays north-west of Grave Circle A outside of the fortified citadel (Figure 2.14). Grave Circle B, A and the Prehistoric Cemetery are considered intramural burials (Figure 2.13).

There are nine child burials recorded at Mycenae which date from the MH I-LH I periods. There are three graves that have been dated to the MH period. The first of these is a burial of two or three infants of unknown ages who were placed within a jar in a pit.[21] The only associated find was an additional pottery jar. The second burial was a stone-cut grave with a child of unknown age.[22] The sole grave goods associated with this burial

[21] Wace 1956, 191.
[22] Wace 1956, 7.

were three beads of unknown material. The third burial contained the skeleton of what is thought to have been an infant placed in a jar.[23] There were no grave goods present.

There was only one grave that dated to the MH II period. This stone-cut grave is thought to be that of a child of ten years of age who was placed with one coarse vessel.[24]

There are four graves that date to the MH III period. The first has not been dated more specifically than the MH III period. This grave includes the body of a two-year old placed in a pit within a shaft grave.[25] This grave named Ξ -1 is connected to Shaft Grave Ξ, as both were found in the same shaft in Grave Circle B. This pit more than likely predates the shaft grave above it, though it is difficult to determine from the associated artifacts whether this was dug after or before the creation of the shaft grave above. In spite of this, grave Ξ -1 is classified as a shaft grave in this examination. Found within this pit were two cups and two jugs.

Grave Λ, dating to MH IIIA, was also uncovered in Grave Circle B. The graves contained the body of a five year old and an adult male.[26] The grave goods associated with the child include one cup, one jug and one jar.

Shaft Grave Ξ dates to MH IIIB and contains a child whose age-at-death was between five and six years.[27] Although adult bones were found within this grave there is speculation about whether this child was buried with an adult, or if this shaft was reused for the burial of the child.[28] Regardless, the burial of the child was given precedence within this shaft since its remains were laid out and the bones of the adult were pushed to

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[23] Wace 1956, 7.
[24] Wace 1956, 213-4.
[25] Mylonas 1973, 165-6.
[26] Mylonas 1973, 145-7; see also Angel 1971, 383, 134.
[27] Mylonas 1966, 99, 105; see also Mylonas 1973; 177-85, 402; Angel 1971, 57.
[28] Mylonas 1973, 177-85.

the side. The burial contained one cup, five goblets, four bowls, three jugs, one jar, and one askos. In addition, the jewellery finds included: beads, a faience pendant, a gold diadem, gold and silver rings, and bronze and silver pins. Other finds include a hollow gold item (possibly a rattle), animal bones and a 'funerary meal' which is posited to be foodstuff offered by the mourners at the time of internment. Though there is a not a more detailed description of 'funerary meal' offered in the published excavation report, this description can be understood as the carbonized remains of food offerings left by the mourners for the deceased.

Another burial that dates to the MH IIIB period is Shaft Grave I which contained the body of a child of unknown age and an adult.[29] This shaft contains the following items of pottery: five jars, five goblets, two cups, one spouted jar, and two jugs. Other finds include: gold sheet ornaments, amber beads, one sword, two daggers, a silver cup, animal bones, a 'powdered substance,' and a 'funerary meal.'

There are two child graves from Mycenae that date to the LH IA period. The first, Shaft Grave M, contains two children of undetermined age.[30] The pottery includes two cups, eight goblets, one hydria, three jugs, four askoi, and three jugs. The other finds are eleven beads (ten stone and one unknown), five bone pins, and one seal. The second burial from LH IA, Shaft Grave O, is a rock cut shaft which contains a child of unknown age and an adult.[31] The finds include twenty-eight varied vessels, gold sheet ornaments of various types, a necklace, rings, bronze pins with heads of gold and crystal, a crystal vessel, a ceramic cup and ivory items.

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[29] Mylonas 1973, 148-57; see also Angel 1971, 382.
[30] Mylonas 1973, 148-57.
[31] Mylonas 1973, 404.

Prosymna

Prosymna is best known for its association with the famous ruins of the later Argive Heraeum. Located eight kilometres northeast of Argos, the ancient settlement of Prosymna lies on the acropolis of the hill at the base of Mount Euboea (Figure 2.1). There are remains of a Neolithic settlement which suggest that the site was flourishing well before its more powerful neighbours.[32] The closest settlement to Mycenae, Prosymna is thought to have shared close social and political ties to the Mycenaean power centre. In fact, scholars believe that Prosymna was later dependant on Mycenae as there are remains of a five kilometre road and a bridge between the two sites that are extant today.[33] While little is known about the architecture and design of the settlement itself, a number of chamber tombs were found in the northwest area of the Heraeum which lies in between Mycenae and Prosymna (Figure 2.15). These tombs are thought to be reflective of the prosperity and development of Prosymna in the Late Middle and Early Late Helladic periods.

Prosymna has yielded five child graves that date from the MH III to LH I periods (Figure 2.16). Three are dated to the MH III. The first contains a child of unknown age buried with an adult in a pit.[34] The grave good associated with the child is a terracotta whorl. The second grave contains the burial of a child of unknown age within a pit. This burial contained the following grave goods: two cups, two jugs, one bronze ring, one

[32] Blegen 1937.
[33] Jansen 2002.
[34] Blegen 1937, 43-4.

bronze pin, and a terracotta whorl. The third burial contains a child of undetermined age in a pit with a cup.[35]

The two remaining graves from Prosymna date to MH III- LH I. The first includes a child of unknown age in a pit.[36] The grave goods dedicated to this child were six cups, five jugs, seven paste beads, two perforated shells, one cup, one bronze pin, and sixty-one shells. The second burial contains the body of child whose age is unknown with an adult buried in a pit.[37] The grave goods found within this grave include one cup, one bronze pin, and one whorl.

Tiryns

The fortified acropolis of Tiryns is located seven kilometres south-east of Argos (Figure 2.1), and is constructed on top of a rocky hill that measures approximately eighteen metres higher than the surrounding plain. The earliest settlement dates to the Neolithic period and was built on the south side of the acropolis.[38]

The first excavation attempt at Tiryns was supervised by Thiersch in 1831, and later by Schliemann in 1876. In both 1884 and 1885 Schliemann, in conjunction with his architect Dörpfeld, excavated much of the palace and published his first work of the site in 1886. In 1905 the German Archaeological Institute of Athens recommenced the excavations which continue to this day.

There were several successive settlements at Tiryns but nearly all their remains have been destroyed by the later building programs of the Mycenaeans. There is

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[35] Blegen 1937, 36.
[36] Blegen 1937, 32-3.
[37] Blegen 1937, 41.
[38] Kilian 1986, 65-71; see also Fossey and Mogelonsky 1983.

evidence of a settlement from the Early Helladic period which includes a series of apsidal houses arranged around a large circular building on the crest of the hill. There is no evidence for occupation during the first half of the Middle Helladic, and few remains for the latter half of the Middle Helladic. The Late Helladic period witnessed the final form on the acropolis with a palace that centred on a large megaron and multiple courtyards. The end of the Late Helladic period saw the construction of a walled fortification, which included a protected entrance (Figure 2.18). The Cyclopean walls surround the Upper, Middle, and Lower Citadels and enclose the palace, public spaces, storehouses and workshops. Outside the walls of the city were other settlements which included blockhouses and what are thought to have been residential structures in the southern-lying areas. The settlement appears to have been abandoned at the end of the LH III period and used only as a cult place thereafter.

There were two child burials found within the Mycenaean citadel of Tiryns that date to the MH period (Figure 2.17). The first, found in a stone cist in Court 16, was a child of unknown age who was buried with three faience beads.[39] The second child, also of an undetermined age, was found under Court 30 and was buried with a vase.[40]

Argos

Located four miles from the gulf of Argos, Argos proper has a long history of occupation that goes back as far as the Neolithic period (Figure 2.1). The excavations at Argos are some of the most complicated in the Argolid as many of the ancient remains are presently covered by the sprawling modern city. Systematic excavations began in

[39] Müller 1930, 79.
[40] Müller 1930, 93-5.

1904 by the French School of Archaeology, and continued intermittently until 1930. Under the direction of the French School of Archaeology there have been continual excavations by Vollgraff, Roux, Deshayes, and Ginouves.[41]

The early settlement of Argos is scattered below the later Classical, Hellenistic, Roman, and modern remains (Figure 2.19). There was early occupation on the acropolis and slopes of the hill of Deiras, a Middle Helladic settlement at the foot of the Larissa in the area that surrounds the theatre, and MH and LH finds in the area of the modern city. Other Bronze Age finds include a prehistoric cemetery that was excavated below the shrines of Deiras which contains Mycenaean chamber tombs and rectangular pit graves dating to the late Middle and early Late Helladic periods.

There are nine child graves that date from the MH-LH I periods at Argos (Figure 2.20). Though not all of these graves were concentrated in one particular location, those with the grave name that includes 'tumulus' and graves Deiras 1 and Necropole were found in the area surrounding the foot of the Deiras. The two graves that were found in the Tzafas Plot are located at the area around the base of the theatre. Of these nine, three have been dated generally to the MH period. The first of these was an infant of unknown age placed in what is thought to be a stone cist.[42] The only grave good excavated was a bowl. The second burial dating to the MH period contained a child of undetermined age in a stone cist.[43] This burial included one ceramic cup and a bronze knife. The third and

[41] Papahatzis 1978, 55.
[42] Daux 1969, 987.
[43] Divari-Valakou 1998, 88.

final grave dated generally to the MH period contained a child of unknown age placed within a stone cist.[44] The only grave good was a kantharos.

There was one child grave that dated to the MH II period. The child is posited to have been between six to seven years of age and was buried in a jar.[45] The associated grave goods include one jar, one bowl, and a small steatite bead.

One child grave from Argos dates to the MH III period. This burial contained an infant of indeterminable age placed within a pit.[46] The grave inclusions were a kantheros and cup.

There were three child burials that date to the MH III-LH I period. The first contained the body of a child of unknown age and an adult placed within a jar.[47] The only grave good was a jar, which was shared with the adult. In this case it is impossible to determine whether the vessel for burial was meant for the child or the adult and is therefore understood as a shared item.

Asine

The ancient settlement of Asine is situated on the northwest slope of Kastraki, a rocky promontory on the northern beach on the gulf of Argos. The site itself lies about one kilometre from the modern seaside resort of Tolos near a bay that is protected by the island of Rhodi and the small inlet Koronisi (Figure 2.1). The ancient remains on Kastraki have mostly been lost to erosion and later human activity. Recent geological investigations have determined that Kastraki used to be an island with berthing harbours

[44] Divari-Valakou 1998, 88.
[45] Deshayes 1966, 8-12.
[46] Courbin 1954, 176.
[47] Deilaki 1980, 72-7.

on either side.[48] The site shows continual evidence of settlement from the early EH period to later Roman occupation. There is also a Mycenaean necropolis that is located on the eastern slopes of the Barbouna Hill (Figure 2.21).

Systematic excavations at Asine began in 1922 under the direction of Frödin and Persson in the area of the acropolis and the lower town, or the northern slopes, as well as the Barbouna Hill. Further excavations continued in 1924, 1926 and 1930, with all findings published in 1938. Excavations resumed in 1970 under the direction of Styrenius in the area east of the acropolis. From 1971-1989 Hägg led excavations on the southern slopes of the Barbouna Hill and the area east of the acropolis referred to as the Karmaniola area. In 1985 Wells investigated the Late Geometric walls on the northern slopes of the Barbouna Hill and returned in 1990 to explore the previously unexcavated corner north of the Hellenistic bastion. At present no fieldwork is being carried out at Asine.

According to the excavations of the Swedish Institute in Athens, the Middle Helladic period at Asine is defined by a thick burnt layer in its strata, suggesting destruction at the end of the EH period.[49] There are traces of MH settlement on the acropolis of the site, but the lower town has the best evidence for this period with several wall complexes. The settlement of the MH periods is characterized by several houses that are thought to be similar in design to those at Lerna, with some larger buildings having been constructed throughout this period. There are indications of agricultural land use as well as fishing and shipping.

[48] Nordquist 1987, 16.
[49] Papahatzis 1978, 32.

The Late Helladic period at Asine is regarded as a time of extensive settlement. There are remains on the acropolis as well as in the lower surrounding areas – aptly named the upper and lower town. The building of structures continued during this time with a tendency toward smaller buildings, but unlike neighbouring Tiryns and Mycenae, there was no palatial building found.

There are twenty-four child burials that date to the MH-LH I periods at Asine, only four of which (17%) were extramural (Figure 2.22). All graves that were given a grave name that begins with 'MH' and a number and/or date, i.e. MH 10, are burials that were found within the area of the lower town, and conversely, the four graves that were found in the area of Barbousa Hill were given grave names that begin with a 'B' and a number, e.g. B10. Of the twenty-four child burials excavated at Asine that date between MH I- LH I only one dates to the MH I period. This grave, MH11, contained the body of a child of undetermined age in a jar, which was also its only grave good.[50]

There are two child burials that are dated to MH II and two dated to MH II-MH III. Grave B33 and MH34 both contain children of unknown age, one of whom was buried in a jar and the other in a cist. The former's grave goods included a jar and charcoal remains and the latter's included a pottery cup.[51] The two children dating to the MH II-MH III periods were buried in pits. Both burials included children less than a year of age who were buried with three miniature kantharoi and trace amounts of charcoal and ash. [52]

[50] Frödin and Persson 1938, 266.
[51] Frödin and Persson 1938, 280, 120.
[52] Nordquist 1987, 135, 27; see also Frödin and Persson 1938, 120.

There are four child burials that date to MH III and one that that dates to MH III-LH I. Those dated to MH III included burial B29 with two infants placed within a pit with shells,[53] grave MH10 with an infant with no grave goods, grave MH32 placed within a cist with a feeding bottle,[54] and a ten year old child who was buried in grave B15 in a stone cist.[55] The grave goods with the ten year old one goblet, one small jar, a necklace of bronze wire with bronze beads, bone and carnelian, two bronze earrings or hair rings, and two groups of perforated shells. The child that dates to the MH III- LH I period includes a skeleton of unknown age in a cist with one goblet, two small jars, a purple shell, fish bones, and charcoal.[56]

There are fifteen child burials from Asine that have simply been dated to the MH period. Seven of these children are identified to have been less than one year of age. Of these, five were buried in pits: grave MH85 contained a terracotta whorl, grave B33 contained a bead and shells, grave MH67 contained a terracotta whorl and 'coffin', grave MH65 contained a 'coffin', and grave MH64 also contained a 'coffin'. According to the excavators at Asine the 'coffin' is so named because of its likeness to later wooden coffins.[57] The evidence for these 'coffins' include the remains of rectangular boxes with clay 'packings', as well as residue from oil, wax and/or resin.[58] Grave MH87 which included a child thought to be eight months of age at death who was buried in a jar with an axe. Grave MH72, included the skeletal remains of a newborn and two sub-adult crania, was buried in a cist with an axe.

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[53] Nordquist 1987, 135.
[54] Frödin and Persson 1938, 120, 279.
[55] Nordquist 1987, 135.
[56] Frödin and Persson 1938, 117, 291-2.
[57] Nordquist and Ingvarsson-Sundström 2005, 157.
[58] Nordquist and Ingvarsson-Sundström 2005, 157.

Three burials date to the MH period and contain the remains of children between one and five and a half years of age. Two of these children, aged three to four years from grave MH1970-7, and twelve to eighteen months from grave MH1972-7, were buried in stone cists, whereas the five and half year old from grave MH63 was placed in a pit. The child in MH 1970-7 was found with earrings, and the child in MH1972-7 was found with animal bones.[59] The child from grave MH63 was found with a bone awl.[60] Five burials have simply been identified as 'young person', 'very young child', or 'child', because of poor bone preservation. Three of these children were placed in pits, one in a jar, and another in a cist. Those who were buried in pits included grave MH39, which contained jar fragments, grave MH69 which contained a terracotta spool, and grave MH90, which contained a terracotta whorl.[61] The child buried in a jar in grave MH12 had no additional finds besides the jar in which it was interred, and the child from grave MH73 was buried with a stone axe.[62]

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The principal goal of this chapter was to gain an understanding of the graves and sites examined in this study. It is important to understand the uniqueness of each site's development, history, and process of excavation so that the material might be fully understood. Another aim of this chapter was to lay out the characteristics of each grave assemblage by site and to acknowledge the difficulties encountered when trying to

[59] Dietz 1980, 26-8, 63, 44.
[60] Frödin and Persson 1938, 123-4.
[61] Frödin and Persson 1938, 121, 124-5.
[62] Frödin and Persson 1938, 124, 294.

examine such a varied dataset. The data presented here will be analyzed in Chapter Three to determine changes and trends in the burial assemblages of children from the Middle to Late Helladic. In addition, all items/features of the funerary collection will be awarded units of wealth to measure the richness of children's graves over time. The process of ranking children's graves will help to examine the use of children as social tools and indicators of status in their community. Furthermore, the analysis of the data presented in this chapter aids in understanding the complete collection of children's burials in this study.

Chapter Three
Show and Tell: An Analysis of the Material

The goal of this chapter is to analyze the grave assemblages of the one hundred child burials recorded from the Middle and Late Helladic period of the Argolid, Greece. Here, each feature and item of the grave assemblage will be assigned a numerical value so that it can be ranked within the entire child mortuary collection amassed for this work. The variability of the grave goods, manner of burial, age-at-death of deceased, period, and location makes it difficult to understand any mortuary trends and necessitates a systematic and formulaic analysis. By employing graphs and charts to quantify goods found in each grave it is possible to interpret the development of children's burial assemblages over time. Furthermore, the statistical analysis of children's funerary collection will allow for measurement variation in grave assemblages over time, which will help to demonstrate how the developments in children's burials coincided with the social developments. The histograms used in this section will also help to illustrate how the changes in the burial structure developed according to the demands of a drastically changing Mycenaean social environment where children were increasingly employed as tools for status display and social competition.

THE FACTS: A TALLY OF CHILDREN'S GRAVE ASSEMBLAGES

One of the most basic ways to understand trends in the burial record of children is from a tally of the grave items found in children's graves from the MH-LH I periods of the Argolid. Employing a table that outlines the quantifiable items from the burial assemblage allows one to understand the graves of children in terms of their total number. Such a tally does not evaluate the worth of the items placed in the grave, but instead considers the burials from each site according to their quantity.

Figure 3.1 illustrates the total number of graves by period. Table 3.2 shows the total number and percentage of items/features by period, and the total number and percentage of items/features from the entire collection. Figure 3.2 specifically highlights the use of several items/features in the burial assemblages of children from across the Argolid from MH-LH I. For example, in the category of Grave Type, two types of burial are found to be the most common: pit with thirty-four examples, and stone-cist with twenty-five examples. In the category of Pottery the cup design was found to be the most popular ceramic grave offering among children's graves as there were thirty-six examples of cups recorded, or 20% of all pottery offerings, found in 24% of graves, which totals 22.6% of the total number of items/features listed in this dataset. In the category of Jewellery/Ornament, beads were the most common grave good with sixty-seven examples recorded, or 59.8% of all items in this category, found in 17% of graves, and totaling 12.1% of the entire collection of children's graves. It should be noted however, that this figure for the number of beads is primarily made up from graves where beads are mentioned in the archaeologists' reports, but specific numbers of beads are not offered. In this case, the beads are understood as one 'occurrence' and are recorded as such. If a

specific number of beads is mentioned the full number of beads is recorded as it is with all other grave goods. The most common item in the category of Weapon/Tool is 'obsidian blade' with seven instances, totaling 46.7% of this category, found in 11% of graves, but only 1.3% of the total dataset of children's graves. The most common item from the Organic/Natural category is shell with fifty-one items recorded, which totals 68.7% of the category, found in 11% of graves, and 10.3% of the whole dataset. Again, similar to the bead inclusions, this number is made up of graves in which shells are both counted strictly as an item (i.e. described but not given a total number) and counted according to how many item inclusions are present (i.e. five shells). In the category of Miscellaneous, vessels are the most common item with sixty-one items recorded, or 71.8% of the total category, found in 3% of graves, and 11% of the entire dataset collection of children's graves.

While Figure 3.2 illustrates the quantity and percentage of grave goods and features in children's graves, it does not rank items. Therefore, it is necessary to recognize that this chart cannot determine the change of wealth over time; quantity does not necessarily reflect wealth. The histogram on the other hand assigns worth to each item/feature of the burial collection and reflects the change in the wealth of graves over time.

HISTOGRAMS: RANKING CHILDREN'S GRAVES

One of the principal methods employed in analyzing children's graves in this study is the ranking of their material remains and illustrating the results in quantitative

histograms. Once the grave characteristics have been both qualified and quantified, a set 'value' is assigned to the various material characteristics of each burial. By assigning value to specific qualities of children's burials it is possible to compare child graves from across the Argolid and understand the 'richness' of burials according to grave composition.

It should be made clear that the 'value' assumed by this study for the purpose of ranking graves does not recognize the 'value' afforded to each item to be a *true* approximation of worth as understood by the Mycenaeans. The aim of the ranking system is to offer a set evaluation framework from which one can examine the material record. The process of ranking requires one to assign a measure of wealth to each item in the burial assemblage in order to understand the wealth of each grave in relative terms. The units of wealth assigned to each item/feature are *not* arbitrary, though they are assigned according to contemporary interpretations of Mycenaean society. Indeed, it would be impossible for the modern archaeologist to assign a true 'value' to the burial manner and goods deposited with each child. A regulated technique whereby systematic analysis is the principal goal, allows for graves to be quantified in a consistent and controlled manner.

Every child burial examined in this work can be understood as a grave assemblage that is made up of different components which can be studied.[1] The worth or 'value' afforded to each burial component is designated according to artifact category; i.e. like items/features are grouped with like items. Each item/feature is ranked on a scale from one to ten, with one being the poorest and ten the richest, according to its design,

[1] Graziadio 1991, 412.

function, and material. This scale, though admittedly crude in design, serves to measure grave characteristics in a regular manner according to units of wealth. While scholars such as Graziadio have elected for more complicated systems of ranking, this framework was designed in a simple and straightforward manner to keep the analysis uncomplicated.[2] While some might argue that this negates the purpose of assigning units of wealth, the goal of this process is not to achieve a true measure of richness, but variations in children's funerary wealth.

The ranking of individual components in the burial assemblage of children is further delineated by understanding how design, function, and material are conceptualized. Though the ranking of items roughly translates from their qualification within the framework of 'design', 'function', and 'material', it is important to remember that these are intended to be approximate guidelines that serve to help qualify items, but are not so specific that they limit or inhibit the ranking of item variation.

DESIGN, FUNCTION & MATERIAL: ASSIGNING UNITS OF WEALTH

The 'design' of the item depends on the complexity of fabrication, including the assumed difficulty in construction and the specificity of conception. For example, a miniature bracelet would suggest specific design and use that was created with the child in mind. In grave assemblages where such items/features exist, additional units of wealth are awarded since extra thought and effort was exerted in their creation. Other

[2] Graziadio 1991, 413ff.

items/features may share this circumstance, but are ultimately ignored or unrecognized by the archaeologist because of a lack of understanding of children's lives in the past.

The 'function' of an item/feature is primarily determined by the intended purpose or use. If the item/feature is of generic use and does not have any particular characteristics which distinguish it from other like items/features it is given a similar units of wealth as like items. Indeed, though the categories of the grave collection are primarily governed by actual function, some items within the Organic/Natural and Miscellaneous categories vary greatly in their use. For instance, at Asine there is evidence for the remains of so-called coffins, though they are not found at any other archeological site. The function of these coffins is assumed to have been as a container for the physical remains of the deceased child, but this is not to say that this was their only function since they have only been noted at Asine in small numbers. Similarly, shells could have served as foodstuffs, or ornamentation for the body of the deceased child. As such, some of the items/features in the burial assemblage are difficult to assess which is why the excavator's notes are particularly helpful in determining function.

The 'material' of the item is determined by its physical makeup. Whether it is made of stone, metal, clay, or otherwise, the value of the item/feature is often determined by the material from which it is created. Furthermore, the time invested in the production of an item needs to be considered when it is ranked since its creation from inception to completion vary. The more time invested in the manufacture of the raw goods needed to produce an item affects its overall ranking. Also included in the category of 'material' is the importance of provenance. Distinguishing imported from local goods by geographical span of import also helps to determine value. For instance, in some graves there is

evidence of ivory and obsidian, neither found locally. Therefore these items must have been imported by the Mycenaeans from various locations around the Mediterranean.

A range of 'units of wealth', can systematically assign a value score to various items based on the considerations outlined by each grouping. According to Graziadio "the aim of this scoring is not to assign an absolute value to each object – which is, of course, impossible—but to establish a ranking within each functional category, differentiating the most precious…objects from average examples."[3] The goal of this process then, is not to offer absolute scales of wealth, but to create relative terms from which one can rank child burials. Even if the aim of the histogram is not to offer a catalogue of absolute values, if systematically applied, it can present a consistent image of differences in wealth between children's graves.

A key element of this process is to understand that grave structure is not an accidental process in which construction and inclusion of items/features is regulated and observed under the authority of a set cultural tradition. Children's graves are not formulaic, but representative of a people and cultural tradition that varies according to period, location, and social status. One of the principal goals of this process is to try and identify those items/features in the burial assemblages that indicate status and wealth. In terms of children, funerary items are not only reflective of the rank and status of their family, but the status and visibility of wealth exhibited by the child in the Mycenaean social sphere.

[3] Graziadio 1991, 413.

RANKING THE FUNERARY COLLECTION

The units of wealth assigned for the category of Grave Type (Figure 3.3) are determined by the complexity of design, the architecture of the grave, and the material used for construction. If the design of the grave seemed to have had little forethought, such as a pit, then the units of wealth assigned are very few. However, if the construction of the grave necessitated prior architectural planning, such as quarried and cut stone, then the associated units of wealth will be high. For example, the shaft graves found at Mycenae indicate architectural planning and consideration of grave placement. Moreover, the shafts must have taken a great deal of time to construct, required the use of cut stone, and taken several people many hours or days to create.[4] Therefore, the units of wealth assigned to Grave Types consider the amount of energy exerted in their construction as well as the specificity of design.

The units of wealth assigned to the category of Pottery (Figure 3.4) are determined by form not size.[5] The more common and uncomplicated the form of pottery, the lower the units of wealth awarded. For instance, cups and coarseware are not considered to be of significant worth since their composition is simple and their use common among all social groups. Items with a more complex form such as a hydria or feeding bottle are given more units of wealth since their forms are more complex in design. Indeed, to qualify items by size and fabric would further confuse the process of ranking since pottery forms can share shape but vary on other characteristics such as fabric, decoration, and production quality. It should also be noted that though a change in

[4] For further reading on the amount of time that it is hypothesized to have taken to construct such graves see Wright 1987, 171-3.
[5] With the exception of those items considered to be miniature in composition.

size can sometimes reflect a change in function, this study will ignore such differences and simply examine shape. Such evaluation restrictions allow for a more straightforward, albeit simplified, method of ranking.

The category of Jewellery/Ornament (Figure 3.5) is one of the most challenging categories to assign wealth, since jewellery and ornaments are so distinctive in their design and conception it would be too difficult to observe particularities of each item. Though there are undeniably variations in design among many pieces of jewellery and ornaments that designate degrees of wealth, a more detailed and exacting ranking process than this examination's would have to be developed to appraise each item judiciously. Here, it is simply the goal to measure the worth of the item based on its fundamental form and function. Therefore, units of wealth derive from the physical placement of the jewellery/ornament, or its visibility, its size, its relative difficulty of manufacture, and its rarity among Mycenaean graves.

The category of Weapon/Tool (Figure 3.6) assigns wealth based on function and form, and in some instances, material used in its construction. The larger the item the greater the wealth index assigned. For instance, the difference between a sword and a dagger is primarily in the length of the blade and therefore, material, so the sword would be considered to be of greater wealth than the dagger simply according to the quantity of metal involved in its construction. Imported material such as obsidian is ranked higher than other stone weapons since obsidian is not local to the Argolid and would have had to have been imported for production.

The Organic/Natural category (Figure 3.7) is made up of items that have not been processed and are therefore 'natural' or 'organic' in their excavated state. Such items are

offered units of wealth based on their assumed use in the funerary ritual and assemblage, as well as their rarity and availability in the Middle and Late Argolid. For instance, something that is not local to the Argolid such as raw ivory is considered to be an item of great worth and is accordingly assigned greater units of wealth. Items such as stones or pebbles which are often placed on the body of the deceased or laid across the bottom of the grave, though abundant in the environment, are often specifically picked because of their colour, size, and shape. Since such stones or pebbles or stones are not simply thrown into the grave, they are thought to be of specific importance and assigned minimal units of wealth.

The Miscellaneous category (Figure 3.8), though varied in its form and use, is assigned units of wealth according to the item's function, design, and material of construction. Items that can be made locally with regional material, such as terracotta spindle whorls and weights, are afforded little wealth as they would have been prevalent in the daily lives of the Mycenaeans. On the other hand, objects such as silver cups and crystal vessels are assigned more units of wealth since they are thought to be prestige items.

THE DATA: WHAT CAN HISTOGRAMS TELL US?

Histograms are an illustrative means of showing the ranking of funerary remains according to a set measure of quantitative worth. Though this work draws primarily on the methodological basis of Graziadio and his work with ranking at Mycenae, other scholars such as Tainter and Cordy have shown that social ranking is a legitimate process

wherein the social dimensions of an extinct society can be understood.[6] Such regulatory measures allow a systematic set of procedures for analysis of wealth. This work will first examine each site individually, and then the entire dataset will be studied by period to understand any changes in the burial assemblages of children across the expanse of the Argolid. After these analyses are completed it will be possible measure the wealth changes witnessed in the Argolid from the MH-LH I periods and hypothesize how children were linked to status and the display of wealth in the development of their social landscape.

Argos

The histogram of the grave goods found at Argos illustrates a dramatic increase in the wealth of the burials during the MH III-LH I periods (Figure 3.9/Figure 3.10). The categories of Miscellaneous, Jewellery/Ornament and Weapon/Tool are most notably present within this period, and indicate an increased importance of wealth. It should be noted however, that the units of wealth afforded by both grave type and pottery are relatively consistent through every period examined, suggesting a burial tradition in grave type and pottery that remains constant within this community. The total units of wealth shifts dramatically in the MH III-LH I periods as the units of wealth reach one hundred fourteen units or 6.3% of total wealth from all recorded graves in this dataset and only fall as low as thirty units or 1.7% of total wealth. On the other hand, the units of wealth associated with the earlier periods do not even reach fourteen units or 0.8% of total goods – marking the end of the Middle Helladic as a period of significant change at Argos.

[6] Tainter and Cordy 1977.

Asine

The results of the histogram from Asine show that there was not a huge increase in the richness of children's graves in the late Middle Helladic and Early Late Helladic periods (Figure 3.11/Figure 3.12). Though there was a slight rise in wealth witnessed in the MH II-MH III and MH III-LH I periods, it was not as notable as the changes seen at other sites in the Argolid at the same time. Instead, what is particularly notable about the histogram from Asine is the change in the distribution of wealth according to the categories of grave goods. For instance, one can see that there was a clear increase in items from the Miscellaneous and Pottery categories in the MH period, though only a few graves illustrate a rise in Jewellery and Weapons/Tools. What this suggests is there was a very gradual increase in the amount of wealth in children's graves, but it was neither uniform in its distribution of graves or item/feature type.

It should be noted that there was one particular grave that dates to the MH III period that contained a large amount of jewellery. Grave B15-MH III included twenty-seven units of wealth or 13.3% of the total wealth from Asine – the highest among all graves from Asine. This particular grave is more than likely indicative of a family that shared a higher status within society as per the associated wealth since there is an increase in the overall richness of children's burials in the early Late Helladic.

Overall, there are only minor changes in the burial tradition of children at Asine as the social and cultural changes that presumably instigated the extreme developments in the burial assemblages of children in different areas of the Argolid did not make themselves clear in the burial record of Asine.

Lerna

The histogram of the child graves from Lerna (Figure 3.13/Figure 3.14) illustrates a gradual increase in the richness of children's graves from the MH-LH I periods from an average wealth of 1.9% for the MH period and increasing to 4.1% of the entire collection of grave goods in the LH I period. Though the units of wealth vary considerably in the MH period, with examples of both poor and wealthy burials, when examined according to date it is possible to see that there is a consistent rise in wealth from MH I to LH I. Despite the fact that there are instances of poor grave assemblages in most periods, there was a trend toward wealthier burials at the end of the Middle and Early Late Helladic. In terms of the categories of wealth illustrated within each period, it appears that a large percentage of the wealth from the MH II-MH III to LH I periods was composed of pottery, whereas the earlier child burials contained little, if any, pottery. It should also be noted that twelve of the thirty-three graves that date to the MH period included at least one item of wealth from the Jewellery/Ornament category, which incidentally also account for the bulk of units of wealth found in the 'richest' burials. Also of interest is the variation of Grave Types from the MH-LH I periods at Lerna as there does not seem to be any sort of consistency of burial type established by period or the richness of grave. What this suggests is that there was more than likely a lack of a formalized burial tradition for children and a variation in the wealth and status of families within this settlement.

Mycenae

The histogram from Mycenae (Figure 3.15/Figure 3.16) illustrates a significant change in the wealth of children's burials from the MH-LH I periods. There is a clear delineation in the richness of graves from the Middle to Early Late Helladic periods. The MH period is marked by very 'poor' grave assemblages that had simple burials with very few grave inclusions accounting for only 4.2 % of the total wealth from Mycenae. Pottery appears to have been the most popular grave good with a jewellery item found in only one burial. The MH II period sees little to no change in the richness of burial totaling only 1.1% of the total collection from Mycenae. In the MH III-IIIA periods there is a pronounced increase in richness of children's graves, totaling 40.4% of Mycenae's total wealth, with the majority attributed to a change in Grave Type and increase in pottery. It should be stressed however, that with the advent of MH III period a new burial practice was established at Mycenae as all child burials examined after this time share some relation to a shaft grave. Each grave assemblage that dates to MH III to LH I periods includes either a shaft grave as part of its burial, or a pit or jar within a previously established shaft. Not only does this represent the marked departure from the previous burial practices witnessed at Mycenae and neighbouring sites, but it also stresses the new importance on the social division of status groups within Mycenaean society. It is clear that this new established division among different groups in society was not limited to the adult players of the community but also the burials of their youth.

The advent of the MH IIIB period marks a dramatic shift in the richness of children's graves at Mycenae. Though the histogram does illustrate a clear increase in the wealth of graves from the MH period onward, the MH IIIB period signals a dramatic

departure from the previous grave assemblages. Indeed, the units of wealth from the MH-MH IIIA periods measure from as low as four up to just above twenty-one or 0.4% and 3.8% of the total wealth, whereas the two child burials from the MH IIIB period rank at eighty-four and one hundred one or 15.2% and 18.3% of the total wealth. Though the manner of burial remains the same as the previous period, there is a remarkable increase in the grave inclusions from this period. Most notably, the quantity and quality of pottery increased as well as the variation in the types of grave goods placed with the child remains. For instance, both graves from the MH IIIB period include items from the Jewellery, Organic/Natural, Weapon/Tool and Miscellaneous categories.

Remarkably, the LH IA period witnessed an additional increase in the richness of child burials. The additional grave inclusions found in these graves represent a huge departure from the wealth observed in the MH period. Though both graves share items from the Jewellery/Ornament and Miscellaneous categories, only Shaft Grave M has 'Pottery' and only Shaft Grave O shows evidence of 'Miscellaneous' items. The total amount of wealth for both of these graves is three hundred units or 16.6% of all the wealth from the entire collection of one hundred graves – the highest of all the child burials examined in the Argolid.

Myloi

Although Myloi only contains one example of a child grave it is still important to compare this burial with the data collected from other sites since they are all examined against the same framework of evaluation. Understanding this burial assemblage as part of a larger trend of burial within the Argolid allows for this grave to be considered

amongst the burials of the neighbouring sites. Similar to other graves from the same period, this burial demonstrates a moderate 'richness' in goods with evidence from both the category of Pottery and Miscellaneous (Figure 3.17/Figure 3.18). The total wealth of this grave is seventeen units or 0.9% of the total wealth of the entire collection of one hundred graves. This burial is similar in terms of wealth to the two other child burials from the neighboring site of Lerna that date from the MH II-MH III periods. Graves BD6 and BE6 from Lerna are calculated to have sixteen units and seven units of wealth respectively or 0.9% and 0.4% of total wealth of the entire dataset, suggesting that Grave V from Myloi was neither poor nor rich.

Prosymna

The histogram from Prosymna only reflects a small temporal span from MH III to LH I (Figure 3.19/Figure 3.20). The MH III period contains three graves, all of which are relatively low in wealth with units of wealth ranging from two to twenty two, or 1.3%, 3.2% and 14.2% of the total wealth from Prosymna. As compared to the richest grave from Prosymna that dates to the MH III-LH I periods, totaling one hundred seventeen units of wealth or 75.5% of the total wealth from the site, there is a great disparity in wealth among contemporary graves. Grave 23 and 28 from MH III have two and five units of wealth that are made up of items/features from the category of Pottery and Grave Type. Grave 26, which also dates to the MH III period, shares the same kind of Grave Type as Graves 23 and 28, but also includes a larger collection of items from the category of Pottery, Jewellery/Ornament, and Miscellaneous.

There are two child graves from Prosymna that date to MH III-LH I. Grave 20, the richest grave recorded from Prosymna, has one hundred seventeen units of wealth from the categories of Grave Type, Pottery, Jewellery, Organic/Natural, and Miscellaneous. The bulk of the wealth illustrated in this burial is from the Organic/Natural category, the greatest amount recorded in all the child burials examined in the Argolid. There is a great amount of pottery found in Grave 20, twenty-six units, which makes up for more than all of the pottery found in the other child graves from Prosymna (twelve units). On the other hand, Grave 11 has substantially less wealth than that deposited in Grave 20 with only nine units of wealth or 5.8% of the total wealth at Prosymna, though it is still richer than both 23 and 28 that date to the previous period. It should be noted however, that similar to Grave 26, Grave 11 contains the same combination of grave goods as those found in Grave 26, though fewer in number.

One of the most notable features from all of the child graves from Prosymna is the fact that the category of Grave Type remains the same from MH III to the MH III-LH I periods. Despite the increase in wealth witnessed in Grave 20 there is no change in the manner of burial as all the graves, both rich and poor, are recorded as pit which only affords them one unit of wealth. It seems curious that despite the fact that there was an obvious increase in the quality and quantity of grave goods, the Grave Type was not modified in the adaption of wealth in the burial assemblage.

Tiryns

There are two child burials found at Tiryns (Figure 3.21/Figure 3.22), both of which date to the MH period. The first, identified as Court 16, is composed of a stone cut

grave as well as jewellery for a total of sixteen units of wealth or 0.9% of the total wealth from the entire grave collection. The second burial, Court 30, also contains a stone-cut grave as well as pottery rather than jewellery and has a total of twelve units of graves or 0.7% of the total grave collection. Both graves share an increased richness of graves in comparison with contemporaneous burials, as the total average units of the fifty-six graves that date to the MH period is nine point nine units. The consistency in Grave Type should be noted however, since both of these children were buried in stone-cut graves and have almost the same richness in burial. This trend in the category of Grave Type could suggest that stone-cut graves were part of the burial tradition of the time, or rather that there was some sort of relationship between the two children based on their physical proximity and time of burial.

THE GRAVE COLLECTION BY PERIOD

This section will look at the entire collection of graves according to period, instead of site, in order to understand the shift in the funerary assemblages of children as they would have developed across the Argolid (Figure 3.23). By examining the collection of graves from a diachronic perspective it will become clear whether or not there was a general shift in the quantity and quality of grave goods placed in the burial assemblages of children as the social intricacies and complexities of Mycenaean society developed. As the survey of children's burials by site has already demonstrated, there were instances of poor graves among the collection of richer graves that became popular

from the MH III period onward, despite the fact that there was a definite trend toward increased 'richness' in the child's funerary context as Mycenaean society matured.

Even when one removes the extreme wealth from the shaft graves at Mycenae, there is still a dramatic increase of wealth illustrated in children's graves throughout the Argolid toward the end of the Middle Helladic and into the Early Late Helladic. What was also made clear from the general survey by site was that there was not a standardized burial for children, though specific trends were noted according to location and period. The benefit of examining the collection by period is that general changes in the burial assemblages can be understood more specifically in terms of a constantly developing society, even though the two are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

The MH Period

The MH period, although admittedly a vague and far-encompassing time, does see consistencies in the richness of graves with the average units of wealth calculated at nine point nine. There are a total of five hundred and fifty-four units of wealth in the MH period with the richest grave, DE42 from Lerna, measuring thirty units of wealth, and the poorest grave, DE64, also from Lerna, measuring one unit of wealth. There are instances of richer burials, but they are randomly dispersed among the sites and do not include the same items. In fact, only four of the fifty six graves which date from the MH period rank above twenty units of wealth with the remaining fifty two graves ranging from one to nineteen units of wealth. The MH period, in general, totals 30.7% of the total wealth of the entire collection of children's graves despite the fact that it accounts for 56% of the total number of graves. The totals from the MH period then, offer a

starting point from which one can understand the richness of burials, as there is not a standard wealth composition of burial assemblage that characterizes this time and there are not huge variances in the wealth composition of graves.

The total wealth of the MH periods is mostly composed of the wealth from the category of Grave Type with two hundred and four units of wealth or 36.8%. The second wealthiest category is Jewellery/Ornament which had a total of one hundred forty-four units of total wealth or 26.0%. The category of Pottery also saw a great deal of wealth with seventy-eight units, though it only accounts for 14.1% of the total wealth from this time. The categories of Weapon/Tool, Organic/Natural, and Miscellaneous, were relatively similar measuring fifty-three, thirty-three, forty-two units of wealth respectively, or 9.6%, 6.0% and 7.6% of the total wealth of the grave assemblages. The fact that the greatest amount of wealth that was calculated in this period was found in the category of Grave Type certainly comments on the amount of energy expended in order to construct a proper resting place for the deceased child. Even though the child may have died unexpectedly it appears as though the family and community were committed to constructing a burial feature that was at least recognizable in the archaeological record. What is also made clear is that children were not always placed in pits, though pits were found to be the burial method of twenty of the fifty-six graves from the MH period. Also of interest, is the fact that Jewellery/Ornament was the second richest category after Grave Type, despite the fact that items of this nature would have ostensibly been considered 'luxury' items, and on a whole, this is not a particularly wealthy period.

The MH I Period

There are three child burials that date to the MH I period, and although these are the only three graves that have been specifically dated to the MH I period, it is important to keep in mind that they could be contemporaneous with the fifty-six graves that were only able to be dated to the MH period, which offers a larger basis for comparison. DE68, the richest grave from this period, comes with sixteen total value of wealth or 57.1% of the total wealth from this period, and the poorest, MH11 has four total units of wealth or 14.3% of the total wealth from MH I. The total units of wealth for this period is twenty-eight units or 1.6% of wealth from the entire collection with an average of nine point three units of wealth per grave, though one must remember that these three graves only account for 3% of graves of the entire collection. The bulk of wealth from this period is found in the category of Pottery with eighteen units or 64.3% and the categories of Grave Type and Weapon/Tool make up the rest of wealth with five units each or 17.9% of this period's total wealth.

The fact that burial rituals emphasized pottery as a grave good is no surprise since it was a product that was prevalent throughout the Argolid and would have been readily available for use in burial. In fact, two of the child burials that date to this period were buried in jars which account for at least part (four units) of the wealth in this category. The burial features for this collection are not, in fact, very rich with two jar graves and one pit, and the other categories of Organic/Natural and Miscellaneous had no items at all. Overall, the MH I period seems to have been poor, with no spectacular graves. The wealth is dispersed rather evenly and is a good reflection of the modest graves at the beginning of the Middle Helladic period.

The MH II Period

The MH II period contains seven graves ranging from one to thirteen units of wealth or 23.3% of the total wealth of the whole MH II period in grave A10 to two units or 3.6% of the total MH II wealth in grave BD27, with an average of eight units of wealth per grave. There were a total of fifty-six units of wealth from this period which accounts for 3.1% of the total wealth from the entire collection, although again, it is important to keep in mind that the graves from the MH II period only account for 7% of the total graves from the entire collection of one hundred graves. Therefore, there is a significantly lower amount of wealth than one would expect in this category, simply because the burials represent a smaller percentage of the whole. The majority of the wealth from MH II is found in the category of Grave Type which had twenty-three units of wealth or 41.1% of the total wealth from the period. The category of Pottery had sixteen units of wealth or 28.6% of the total wealth, and the Organic/Natural category had fourteen units or 25.0% of the total wealth from MH II. The category with the least amount of wealth is Jewellery/Ornament with only three units of wealth or 5.4% of this period's total wealth. Again, the category of Grave Type accounts for the largest percent of wealth, which is similar to the MH period, with the more common grave good of Pottery being rather prominent as well. Though there were several units of wealth garnered from the Organic/Natural category, this is not a trend seen in the other categories as this category only accounted for 6.0% of the total wealth in the MH period. The categories of Weapon/Tool and Miscellaneous are not represented at all in this period, which is not really surprising since Weapon/Tool account for only 5.9% of the

wealth for the entire dataset of one hundred graves. The MH II period is quite similar in wealth to the graves in both the MH and MH I periods, with no one grave superseding the wealth of the others from Middle Helladic.

The MH II-MH III Period

There are five graves that date to MH II-MH III period which account for 2.8% of the wealth of the entire grave collection though they represent only 5% of the total number of graves. The richest grave, Grave V, has seventeen units of wealth or 33.3% of the total wealth of the period, and the poorest, MH 35, has five units of wealth or 9.8% of MH II-MH III's total wealth. The category with the greatest percentage of wealth was pottery with twenty-seven units or 52.9% of the period's total wealth, followed by the category of Grave Type which accounts for 31.4% of the total wealth or sixteen units of wealth. Other categories that are represented in the grave collection of MH II-MH III are both Organic/Natural and Miscellaneous with four units each or 7.8% of the period's wealth. Again, the categories of Jewellery/Ornament and Weapon/Tool are not present in these four graves which suggests that items in these categories are not as common as those from other categories. The average percentage of wealth in MH II-MH III is 0.6% whereas the average percentage of wealth in the MH II was 0.4%, MH I was 0.5% and the MH was 0.5%. Though the average percentage of wealth is 0.2% higher than it was in the previous period, is it only 0.1% higher than it was in MH and MH II periods (Figure 3.24). Despite the seemingly lower amount of wealth in MH II, there does seem to be a larger increase of wealth in this period as reflected in the quantity and quality of

the grave assemblage – an upward trend in the amount of wealth found in children's graves.

The MH III Period

The MH III period includes fifteen graves and three hundred forty-one units of wealth or 18.9% of the total wealth of the entire funerary collection and accounts for 15% of the graves of the dataset. The richest grave, Shaft Grave Ξ, accounts for 29.6% of the total wealth of this period or one hundred and one units of wealth, and the poorest, B29, has two units of wealth or 0.6% of the period's total wealth. It should be stressed however, that Shaft Grave Ξ is an extraordinary example of wealth that should not be understood as the typical at Mycenae, or any other site during this time. The shaft graves were special and unique instances of an extremely large collection of wealth, and though they are included in this study, they should be considered extreme cases of wealth that were reserved for the most elite members of Mycenaean society, including their children.

The category with the greatest percentage of wealth was Pottery with one hundred and fifty-three units of wealth or 44.9% of the total wealth of this period. This increase in pottery marks a new trend in the burial tradition of children with fourteen of the fifteen graves composed of at least one item of pottery. Another category that contained a great amount of wealth was Grave Type with sixty-seven units of wealth or 19.6% of the total wealth of MH III. Another category that had a great deal of wealth was Jewellery/Ornament with sixty-three units of wealth which accounted for 18.4% of this period's wealth although it was only in four of the fifteen graves. The three remaining categories of Weapon/Tool, Organic/Natural and Miscellaneous were also represented in

this period with units of wealth measuring twenty-four, sixteen and eighteen or 7.0%, 4.7% and 5.3% of the period's total wealth.

The massive increase in wealth during this period was reflected in all categories of the burial collection of the MH III period and marks a clear departure from the previously established wealth of the earlier Middle Helladic. What is important to note is that this grouping of graves from the MH III period includes those that were dated to MH IIIA and MH IIIB, which were obviously different time periods within the more general MH III period. Of particular note is the fact that the wealthiest grave, Shaft Grave Ξ, dates to the MH IIIB period, or the end of the MH III period, which signals the end of the Middle Helladic and the transition into the early Late Helladic period. Despite the immense wealth of Shaft Grave Ξ and Shaft Grave I there was still a measureable increase in the wealth of the period when the two shaft graves are removed. The average percentage of wealth with all fifteen graves is 1.3%, but when you remove Shaft Grave Ξ and I the average percentage of wealth is still 0.7% , 0.1% more than the previous period. The MH III period illustrates a significant break in the burial tradition of the Mycenaeans in the Argolid. Although the previous periods had seen a gradual increase in the quality and quantity of grave goods, it is only during this period when individual graves eclipse other graves in richness. Even if the percentage of growth is measured at 0.1% without the anomalous shaft graves, this period can still be understood as one of moderate growth. The overall rise in wealth in this period fostered the development of extremely wealthy graves which mark the future wealth driven Mycenaean social landscape.

The MH III-LH I Period

The MH III-LH I period represents a continued increase in the richness of children's graves as exhibited in the MH III period. There are eight graves that date to this period with a total of three hundred eighty-six units in wealth or 21.3% of the total wealth of the dataset, though they only account for 8% of all graves. The richest grave, Grave 20, has one hundred seventeen units of wealth or 30.3% of the total wealth of the period, and the poorest, BD1 has eight units of wealth or 2.1% of the total wealth from MH III-LH I. This period is without a doubt the richest period of all the periods examined within this work as the average percentage of wealth is 2.7% based on the entire dataset of one hundred graves. Again, it should be stressed that the majority of wealth comes from two graves, Tumulus Δ: 10 and Grave 20 which have one hundred and seventeen and one hundred and fourteen units of wealth respectively, though the average amount of wealth of the remaining graves would still be twenty-five point eight units or an average percentage in wealth of 1.4% - double the average percentage of wealth from the MH, MH I, MH II, and MH II-III periods respectively.

The category with the greatest amount of wealth was items in the Miscellaneous with one hundred and six units of wealth or 27.5% of the total wealth from this period. Another category that had a great deal of wealth was Pottery with eighty-two units or 21.2% of total wealth, though Jewellery/Ornament and Organic/Natural also had a fair share of wealth with seventy and sixty-nine units each or 18.1% and 17.9% of total wealth from MH III-LH I. Despite the fact that all categories were represented in this period it should be noted that there was a rise in the items from both Organic/Natural and Miscellaneous, with Miscellaneous in particular being accounted for in every grave from

this period. Also of note is the fact that each of the eight graves from this period had pottery and half had items from the Jewellery/Ornament category. It is clear then, that pottery seems to have become a staple in the burial assemblages of children while items of decoration such as jewellery and ornaments gained in popularity as well. Though it would be foolhardy to suggest that these observations indicate a newly established burial tradition, one could postulate that these similarities in the burial assemblage are illustrative of a trend in social emulation according to which certain members of society are trying to mimic the social display of others. As a whole the MH III-LH I period displays a dramatic increase in the wealth of grave collections from previous periods and an intense departure from the previous importance of social display. The role of the child would have been influenced by these changes, a topic that will be explored in the following chapter.

The LH I Period

There are six graves that date to the LH I/A period that account for a total of two hundred seventy-seven units of wealth or 15.3% of the total wealth of the grave assemblage, though this period reflects only 6% of all graves from the dataset. The richest grave from this period, Shaft Grave O, has one hundred thirteen units of wealth or 40.8% of the total wealth of the LH period, and the poorest, DE39, has eight units of wealth or 2.9% of the total wealth. Once more, it is necessary to emphasize the uniqueness of the immense wealth found in the shaft graves from Mycenae and point out that they were not representative of the whole, but a select few. Instead, the monumental wealth of the shaft graves serves as a reminder of the exclusivity of the Mycenaean elite.

As such, the average percentage of wealth for the LH I period is calculated at 2.6%, 0.1% less than the average wealth of the MH III-LH I period. It seems clear that by this period the percentage of wealth that was displayed in the burials of children had steadily grown over the Middle Helladic and reached its zenith at the end of the Middle Helladic and the beginning of the Late Helladic.

The category with the greatest amount of wealth was Jewellery/Ornament with one hundred sixteen units of wealth or 41.9% of the total assemblage, though the categories of Pottery and Miscellaneous were not far behind with one hundred eleven units of wealth or 40.1% of total wealth and one hundred and eight units and 39.0% of the total wealth from LH I. It should be noted that there were no items from the category of Weapon/Tool despite the fact that every other category was represented. This data implies that there was a definite trend in the type of grave inclusion found in child burials from the MH III period onward. Pottery is present in all but two graves that date from the MH III, and items from the Jewellery/Ornament category were found in all but one grave from the LH I and half of all graves from the MH III-LH I period.

Though it seems clear that there was a move toward certain categories of items/features from the MH-LH I periods, it would be erroneous to suggest that there was any one formula for the composition of children's graves. It is obvious that the categories of Pottery and Jewellery became particularly prominent in the grave collections of children from the MH III onward as jewellery was often found in the richest and poorest graves, an obvious indication of social emulation as even those burials that were poorer in burial assemblage attempted to include the same items that were found in the wealthiest graves of the time. The LH period serves to establish the

continuing move toward wealthier child graves from the MH-LH I periods as part of the overall rise in social complexities occurring throughout the Argolid.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This chapter illustrated a progressive increase of wealth in the graves of children from the early Middle Helladic onward. An examination of the collection by period marked the MH III and LH I periods as extreme examples of wealth found in children's burials. Not only did the categories of wealth become more diverse in inclusions, but they often incorporated items that were found in the richest adult burials. Though not all sites witnessed the same growth of wealth as neighbouring settlements, every location reflected an increase in the quantity and quality of children's grave goods. Indeed, when considering these changes in relation to settlement history outlined in Chapter Two, it is possible for understanding that these transformations were happening in a period of social, cultural, political and economic upheaval. It is clear that the graves of children became useful media for social display and the exhibition of wealth. Indeed, the change in the amount of children' funerary wealth is useful evidence to understand how children's interaction with wealth amplified as the social complexities of the times developed. Now that the evidence for the rapid and extreme change in the graves of children is measured and illustrated, it is possible to consider how the child was increasingly used as a tool for status display. Children undoubtedly perpetuated and strengthened the social distinctions in society as their visibility grew. By utilizing the theoretical framework established in Chapter One, and the methodological processes of

this chapter, Chapter Four can explore how the child was affected, and more importantly, affected the processes of social advancement.

Chapter Four
Follow the Leader: Children and the Perpetuation and Reinforcement of Status

Children affected the material record and its distribution in distinct and exact ways. While children and adults presumably used their space and artifacts in different manners, children's actions and responsibilities in the community were dictated by adults. In fact, the actions of children more than likely mirrored those of their adult counterparts. Children can be recognized as integral elements of a constantly developing social and cultural landscape that perpetuated and reinforced tradition and social organization. However, the experiences and relationships of children vary spatially and temporally and are strongly affected by the social, political, economic, and cultural influences of their society. As such, the lives of children in the MH-LH I periods of the Argolid were shaped by significant and powerful changes in the Mycenaean environment.

Recognized as tools for the display of status, children arguably had a hand in the perpetuation and reinforcement of social distinctions in society. Indeed, as the display of wealth became more important for social positioning in society, children were increasingly used as vessels for the visibility of wealth. As evidenced in the increased value of grave goods found in child burials from the Middle to Late Helladic, children's

interaction and association with wealth grew immensely. Although this change is most notable as related to children's deaths, it must have impacted their lives before death. Children were important factors in the rise of social complexities in the Mycenaean period. Whether the status of children was dictated by their heritage or geographical and temporal span, children played a part in social interplay.

Children are, for the most part, passed over in the realm of scholarly discourse for subjects of more 'valuable' research potential; namely adults. While I disagree with those who understand an archaeology of Mycenaean children to be a waste of time, it is true that attempting to study children in the Middle and Late Helladic periods of the Argolid is difficult, to say the least. The problem of uncovering the 'true' lives of children is not one that is easily resolved. The fact that almost all evidence of children is found in the funerary record does not help to reconstruct the daily lives of Bronze Age children. Regardless, children's graves can comment on ancient society. Mycenaean adults must have been aware that their children could act as tools for the display of status and the maintenance of social hierarchies in their communities. This chapter explores children's burials according to the theoretical framework that recognizes children as social agents within a constantly changing social and cultural construct.

In this analysis I assume that there is a direct correlation between the total wealth in a grave assemblage and the importance of the child as a tool for social display in the community. I also assume that wealth is directly related to status. Burials that are poor in total wealth are understood to contain children who did not have the potential to participate in a display of wealth and were not from prominent families in the community. On the other hand, children buried with wealthy assemblages had significant

positions as vehicles for status display and were from important families in the community. The influence of children, as directly related to the wealth of their grave assemblages, is understood in terms of their collective and individual grave goods. Since grave goods provide one of the only measurable components of children's social status, this research considers how children served to display wealth and status. Indeed, this evaluation recognizes that all of these changes in the burials of children happen in accordance with the rise of social complexity from the MH-LH I periods.

WEALTH AND PERIOD DISTRIBUTION: WHERE DO CHILDREN FIT?

The wealth present in children's graves can be interpreted as associations of familial lineage, inherited status, and the social maneuvering of the deceased's family. As discussed by Wilkie, "whilst adults may earn status during their lives, it is hard to see how children could have had the opportunity to do so…these elaborate children's graves represent evidence of a society in which inherited wealth and status have already become important."[1] The Middle and Late Helladic are recognized as periods where status was a principal concern for power distribution among adults. This chapter considers how the one hundred child burials recorded in this study help archaeologists understand the use of the child in society as a tool for status display augmented in the Middle and Late Helladic periods. As children's burials became showcases for varied and populous grave goods, so too did the complexity and visibility of children's positions in the Mycenaean Bronze Age.

[1] Wilkie 2000, 73.

THE PROCESS: HOW TO READ THE EVIDENCE

In Chapter Three every grave in this collection was given a 'total units of wealth' based on the items and features identified in its grave assemblage. Following this, graves were discussed according to site and period distribution. While both of these analyses highlighted certain trends in the graves of children from the Middle to Late Helladic they did not specifically detail how the visibility of children and wealth would have affected the influence of children as tools for the display of status. Here, the one hundred graves are divided into five wealth categories according to their total assigned wealth, ranging from the poorest to richest assemblages. Each category is then explored in terms of the most common items and features of burials, the age-at-death of the children, and period distribution. Interpretation of each category is then examined in relation to the importance of children's burials to the perpetuation and reinforcement of status and wealth distinctions within the community.

THE POOREST CHILDREN'S GRAVES: 1-4 UNITS

There are eleven graves grouped in this wealth category that total thirty-three units or 0.02% of wealth from the entire dataset (Figure 4.1). Ten of the eleven graves are determined to be either jar and/or pit graves with generally poor grave additions. The grave goods include a jar, cup, pin, bead, shell and bronze fragment. Though these grave goods are not rich, they do suggest that there was at least some effort on part of the deceased children's families to commemorate their deaths. What is more, six of the

eleven children were given an age-at-death under one year of age, four were recorded as 'child', and one was found to be over the age of one. The very young age-at-death of these children is arguably a factor in the makeup of their grave assemblages if age-at-death is understood to be a component in the ability for children to act as tools for status display.

As this category of graves is the poorest from the entire collection of children's burials it is no surprise that the children who are categorized here are thought to have had very limited visibility and influence in displaying wealth in the community. If wealth dictates status then these children were from families with limited access to wealth. Furthermore, all of these graves were dated to the MH period, with only three dating to MH III. The temporal distribution of these graves lends credit to the theory that the display of wealth in children's burials increased from the early MH period onward. In addition, almost every grave in this category is from Lerna or Asine, which have been identified as locations of little wealth and power. Indeed, all of these factors suggest that the graves of children in this wealth category were not used for significant status display. Though this conclusion is influenced most by the geographical and temporal span and the age-at-death of the children, these graves do not exhibit evidence for the use of children as visible markers of wealth in society. The graves of children from the one to four unit category were arguably not constructed to reinforce status distinctions among adults in the community, but rather commemorate the death of the child. Children's graves from this category can be understood as typical examples of wealth display before the importance of social distinctions in Mycenaean society.

POOR CHILDREN'S GRAVES: 5-9 UNITS

This category is the second poorest with a total of thirty-eight graves and two hundred sixty units of wealth, or 14% of the dataset's total wealth (Figure 4.2). Most notably, this group has the greatest number of graves of the five that will be quantified. As one would expect, there is a great variance in the quantity and quality of grave inclusions and span the age-at-death of the associated children. For instance, twenty two children have been given an age-at-death of less than one year of age, five have simply been assigned the description of 'child', seven have been dated between the age of one and five, and four have been given an age-at-death between six and ten. The types of graves also varied with nineteen pits, eight jars, seven stone cists, one cist, one semi-cist, one mudbrick cist and one stone-cut grave. In addition, the most common grave goods were jars, cups, bowls, piriform jars, beads, rings/hair rings, obsidian blades, charcoal, shells, terracotta whorls, bone awls, and coffins.

This category can be understood to be largely representative of some of the poorer children's graves dated to the Middle Helladic. In fact, all but two of these graves date to the MH, though the majority are not specifically dated to the early, middle, or late Middle Helladic. The span of age-at-death suggests that the older the age-at-death of the child, the greater their ability to be used as a tool for the display of wealth. The combination of the age-at-death and wealth represented in this category implies that there was a strong likelihood of including visible wealth in children's graves the older they became. This of course, was not the case for all graves, but in many instances the age of children dictated the involvement of children within the community and accordingly,

their visibility among adults. Another factor that would have influenced the amount of wealth in children's burials is their familial associations. Since almost all of these graves were excavated at Lerna and Asine, it is possible to infer that social distinction and visibility of wealth were not as important, or at least visible, during the MH-LH periods. Though these sites do indicate a total increase in the wealth displayed in children's graves, the changes were moderate, with few extremely wealthy graves.

The increased visibility of children within society would have offered the opportunity for children to represent their families' wealth and status. Indeed, despite the fact that this study's evidence for children's interaction with wealth is limited to the mortuary realm, the grave types alone suggest that the graves of children were becoming more complicated and that parents were considering the importance of their children's burials within the community. In conjunction with the varied and numerous grave goods, it is possible to understand the grave's of children from the five to nine unit category as indications of a growing importance of demonstrating wealth. Children in death were clearly becoming recognized as tools for the display of social distinctions in the community and for the maintenance and perpetuation of status.

'AVERAGE' CHILDREN'S GRAVES: 10-25 UNITS

This category of wealth is composed of thirty six graves and accounts for four hundred ninety-seven units of wealth, or 27% of the total wealth of the dataset (Figure 4.3). The age-at-death of the children within this category is again, highly varied, with twelve children given an age-at-death of under one year, twelve simply identified as

'child', nine between the age of one and five, and four between six and ten years. Also of note is the disparity among the grave types with five pit graves, four jar, five cists, three mudbrick cists, fourteen stone cists, two semi-cists, one stone cut, and two shaft graves. The most common grave goods include jars, cups, amphorae, knobbed jars, kantharoi, beads, pins, hair rings/rings, axes, obsidian blades, shells, and terracotta whorls.

This blended collection of graves not only illustrates the high variation in burial goods, but also a wide spectrum of children's age-at-death. Indeed, the fact that every age category is demonstrated in this group helps to understand that it was not only the age-at-death of children that determined usability of the child as a tool for wealth display, but also a movement toward the emulation of wealth in society. Since the majority of graves from this category date to the MH period, and thirteen date to the MH II period of later, this wealth category marks the period where the graves of children become more visible. This is a very important development because it suggests that children's graves became less about the funerary tradition of the early Middle Helladic, and more about the importance of displaying wealth in every way possible. Children were not an exception to this rule. The change in grave types are proof positive of this change since this is the first period where there have been examples of shaft graves and the majority of graves recorded are cist burials.[2] If the expenditure of wealth and energy is an indication of the status of the deceased, then the children in this category must have been recognized as important members of their population. In fact, it appears as though the graves of children were used increasingly as media for the visibility of wealth. Since there is a direct correlation between the total amount of wealth and temporal span, this category marks a

[2] Graziadio1991, 404.

significant change to the mortuary realm, and arguably, the lives of children before death. Indeed, there is a strong possibility that children were increasingly used as pawns for social position as family groups jockeyed for power in the community.

WEALTHY CHILDREN'S GRAVES: 26-50 UNITS

This category includes nine children's graves with a total of three hundred and three wealth units, or 17% of the dataset's total wealth (Figure 4.4). Although this category does include a vast amount of wealth, there are not many graves that rank between the 'average' grave wealth of the previous category and the extremely wealthy graves of the following category. These graves are, however, quite rich and can be understood as prominent indicators of wealth and status. Only one child is identified with an age-at-death of less than one year of age, three are labeled 'child', two are given an age-at-death between one and five years, and three between six and ten years. The grave types in this category are less varied with four stone cists, two cists, two pits, and one jar grave. The most notable grave goods include jars, cups, goblets, a feeding bottle, amphora, bird jug, necklace, earrings, hair rings/rings, a pin, beads, a gold sheet, dagger, sword, obsidian blades and shells.

This category of wealth sees a marked increase in the quality and quantity of grave goods and grave types. Though there are only nine graves that qualify within these wealth parameters, the total wealth of this category is more than the first two combined. Not surprisingly, six of the nine graves date from the MH III period or later, marking this wealth grouping as one of significant interest. This category offers examples of

children's graves that became increasingly wealthy at the end of the Middle Helladic, which in many ways served as the catalysts for the explosion of wealth in the MH II-LH I/LH I periods. Also of note is the fact that only one child has been given an age-at-death of less than one year. Here, it seems that visibility is not only proportional to the age of the child, but the importance of the child as an indicator of wealth. In other words, the age of children works in conjunction with familial attachments to determine the amount of wealth placed in the burial assemblage.

While it is not surprising to see significant items of worth in the second richest wealth category, it is surprising to examine the items/features which placed each grave in this category. Specifically, the grave types are not what one would expect in such an important wealth grouping. Indeed, it seems strange that the families of the deceased children would go to such lengths to display wealth in such modest graves. The fact that there is not one shaft grave suggests that these graves were a direct result of social emulation. It is a fact that shaft graves would have taken many days and several individuals to construct, as they were several feet deep, and required the use of quarried and cut stone.[3] The possibility of burying one's child in a shaft grave was not an opportunity available to all members of Mycenaean society. Shaft graves represent the most elite of the elite, and were reserved for the most powerful families in the community.[4] The families of the children included in this category were neither the wealthiest, nor most powerful, but they were active participants in the competition for wealth and status. Children were very clearly included in this social discourse, and more than likely would have had access to the same wealth that is illustrated in their graves

[3] Wright 1987, 174.
[4] Graziadio 1991, 404-6.

when they were alive. Though it is tantalizing to imagine what role children would have played in the formation and maintenance of status roles before death, it is possible to ascertain that they did serve to perpetuate status distinctions in society.

THE WEALTHIEST CHILDREN'S GRAVES: 51-150 UNITS

There are six graves in this category with a total combined wealth of seven hundred sixteen units or 40% of the dataset's total wealth (Figure 4.5). One child was given an age-at-death between six and ten years, and the other five children were simply identified as 'child'. Four of these graves were shafts, one a cist, and one a pit grave. All of these graves date to the MH III, MH III-LH I, or LH I period. The grave goods were numerous in quality and quantity with examples of jars, bowls, cups, goblets, jugs, a spouted jar, askos, a hydria, necklace, bracelet, earrings, hair ring/ring, pins, beads, gold sheets, a dagger, sword, shells, animal bones, ivory, a silver cup, a seal stone, crystal vessel, and a gold rattle.

The age-at-death of the children in this category is of particular interest. Despite the fact that five of these children were only given the identification of 'child', it is possible to theorize that many of these children would have died with an age-at-death that was greater than one year of age. This postulation is based on the connection between age and wealth illustrated in the previous wealth categories. As the social complexities of each period increased, the demands of children became more complicated and the responsibilities of children more involved. This is not to say however, that younger children would not have been able to serve as important tools for the display of wealth, it

simply understands the intricacies of time to be best suited to children that were more developed physiologically and mentally. The wealthiest graves of the age then, were, in most cases, reserved for older children of the social elite.

Many of the grave types in this category are what one would expect to find in the richest graves of children, shaft graves. However, the inclusion of a pit grave is entirely surprising since it was the poorest grave type. The dichotomy of rich and poor grave types here serves to highlight the unpredictable nature of the grave assemblages of children. Despite the fact that graves do become richer in the late Middle Helladic and the early Late Helladic, there is not always a connection between wealth and grave type. The shaft grave epitomizes the wealth and opulence of the age in the way it openly marks the wealth and status of children's families. The social function of shaft graves was highlighted by the conspicuous display of resources which further accentuated the solidarity of the social elite. The fact that children were incorporated in many shaft graves strengthens the postulation that children served as important tools for the display of status and visibility of social distinctions.

The period distribution of this category serves to magnify and highlight the changes that took place from the MH to LH I periods, and how the role of the child changed. Although it is important to stress that this fifth and final wealth category should be understood as an isolated series of graves that was not reflective of the whole, it does serve to illustrate how children were part of the social advancements of the time. Though four of the six examples are from Mycenae, it is still valuable to recognize the significance these developments represent for the entire Argolid. All of these graves

should be understood as extreme examples of extraordinary wealth that were not representative of the wealth of children's burials represented across the Argolid.

This wealth category can be viewed as the pinnacle of a total increase in the wealth of children's graves that grew from the early Middle Helladic period onward. Despite the fact that most of the graves from this wealth category are from Mycenae, this survey has illustrated that there was an increase in the quantity and quality of grave goods at every site across the Argolid from the MH-LH I Periods. While Mycenae serves as the so-called 'poster child' for the rise of social complexities in the Middle Helladic and the early Late Helladic, it is clear that Mycenaeans across the region were affected by social, political and economic changes during these times.

HEREDITY, FAMILY AND CHILDREN

The analysis of wealth categories illustrated that the burials of children were important opportunities used by the families of children to display wealth and status. While the collections of grave goods included in children's burials were undoubtedly expressions of a family's grief, they functioned as more than physical representations of lost children. During the rise of social complexity in the Middle and Late Helladic of the Greek mainland, familial ties became more and more important in the struggle for power and dominance in the community. Children were significant members of the family who were increasingly used as tools for status display. Indeed, as the need to exhibit wealth became more important for representing status in the community, the deaths of children were more and more used as furthering opportunities. As witnessed in the material

record of children's graves, the MH-LH I periods represented a constantly changing social order. The very fact that children's graves do correspond to these changes suggests that the child in death had a part in shaping the social and cultural advances of these periods. The transition from the Middle to Late Helladic did not happen in a vacuum; it affected the lives of *all* members of Mycenaean society. Indeed, hereditary patterns of command suggest that many of the children with the wealthiest graves recorded in this study would have had significant roles within the community had they matured to adulthood.

MYCENAEAN CHILDREN: PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

This study set out to examine how the burials of children from the MH-LH I periods could help to illuminate the lives of Mycenaean children. Although it is ironic that one would consider mortuary remains to understand the lives of children, the archaeological record of the Bronze Age Argolid does not offer many clues about children outside of the funerary category. For this reason, archaeologists and anthropologists alike have developed an archaeology of children that helps to remedy this problem. Despite the fact that mortuary remains are strictly limited to the inactive child, they can supply clues about the lives of children. An archaeology of children can be explored by changing ones perception about the restrictions and boundaries of childhood. By appreciating children as social agents, it is possible to recognize how they would have had meaningful and significant positions in their communities. In fact, this examination has attempted to illustrate how the death of the child acted as a tool for status display in

the community. From here, there is future potential to theorize how such influences in death could have been part of the life of the child before death.

This study has shown that children were important factors in the display of wealth and the emulation and perpetuation of status distinctions in society. As the social complexities of the Middle and Late Helladic developed so too did children's interaction with wealth and status. Although this thesis has attempted to understand aspects of Mycenaean children from a much focused geographical and temporal scope, there is significant opportunity for future study in this area. Since this examination was limited to a very small sampling of children's graves it was not possible to explore the broader possibilities of the changes in Mycenaean children's graves from across the realm of Mycenaean influence. Future study of the burials of Mycenaean children can offer excellent insight in regional variations of the display of wealth, grave inclusions, role and the treatment of children's mortuary remains. Just as this thesis is based on the work of previous scholars who formed the foundation of this study, there is opportunity for future students to investigate different characteristics of the life of child. When one understands the child as a social actor in the development of history and the material record the possibilities of scholarly discourse are limitless.

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Figures

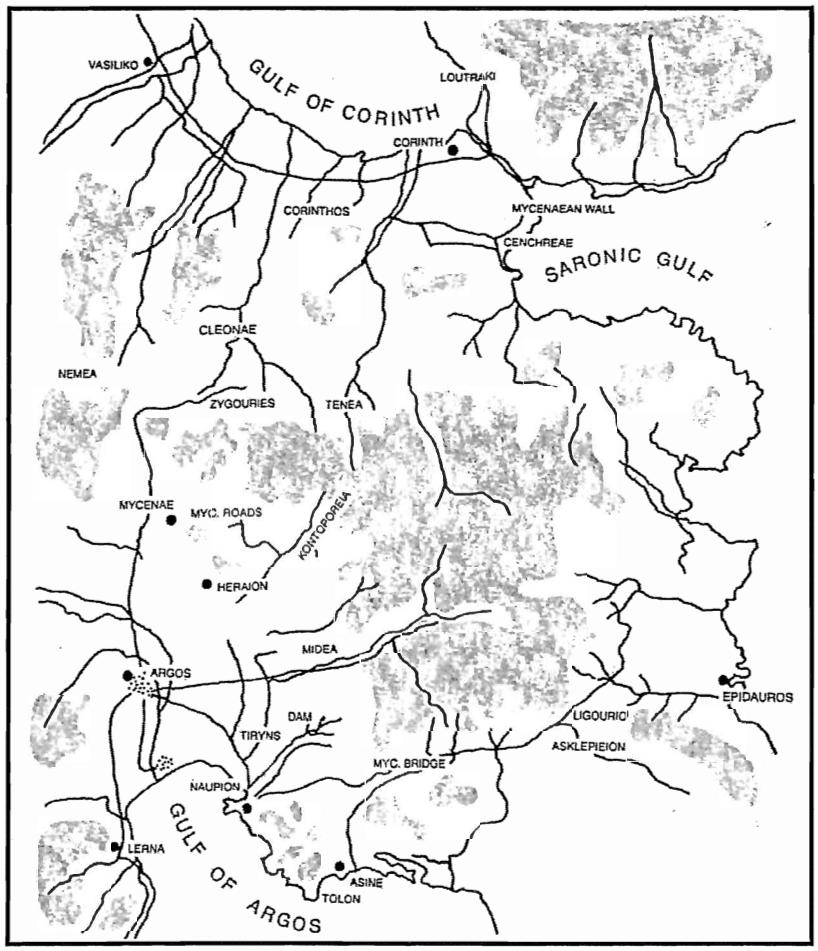

Figure 1.1 – Map of the Argolid

Early Helladic I (EH I)	3600-2900 BCE
Early Helladic II (EH II)	2900-2500 BCE
Early Helladic III (EH III)	2500-2070 BCE
Middle Helladic I-II (MH I-II)	2070-1700 BCE
Middle Helladic III (MH III)	1700-1600 BCE
Late Helladic I (LH I)	1600-1500 BCE
Late Helladic II A (LH IIA)	1500-1450 BCE
Late Helladic II B (LH IIB)	1450-1400 BCE
Late Helladic IIIAI (LH IIIAI)	1400-1370 BCE
Late Helladic IIIA2 (LH IIIA2)	1370-1340 BCE
Late Helladic IIIB (LH IIIB)	1340-1190 BCE
Late Helladic IIICI (LH IIICI)	1190-1100 BCE
Late Helladic IIIC2/Submycenaean (LH IIIC2/Smc)	1100-1050 BCE

Figure 1.2 - Aegean Bronze Age Chronology[1]

[1] Warren and Hankey 1989, 246.

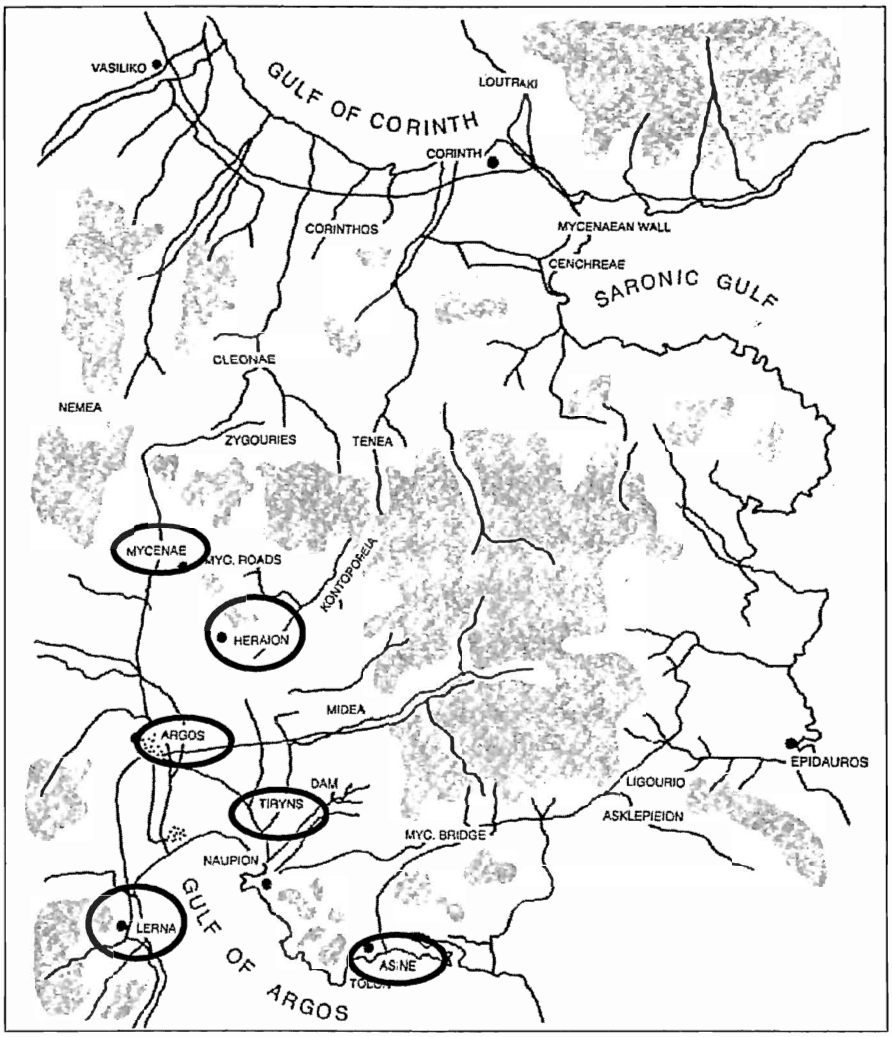

Figure 2.1 – Map of Argolid with Sites Examined

Site	Periods of Burial	Number of Child Burials
Argos	MH/MH II/MH III/MH III-LH I	9
Asine	MH/MH I/MH II/MH II-III/MH III/MH III-LH I	24
Lerna	MH/MH I/MH II/MH II-III/MH III/MH III-LH I/LH I	49
Mycenae	MH/MH II/MH III/A/B//LH IA	10
Myloi	MH II/III	1
Prosymna	MH III/LH I/A	5
Tiryns	MH	2
TOTAL		**100**

Figure 2.2 – Number of Child Burials by Site and Period

FEATURE	ABBREVIATION
Pit	GT-PT
Jar	GT-J
Cist	GT-C
Semi-Cist	GT-SC
Stone-Cist	GT-STC
Mudbrick-Cist	GT-MBC
Shaft	GT-SF
Stone-Cut	GT-STCT

Figure 2.3 – Abbreviation of Grave Types

ITEM	ABBREVIATION
Jar	P-JR
Spouted Jar	P-SJ
Bowl	P-BL
Kantharos	P-KS
Cup	P-CP
Goblet	P-GB
Askos	P-AS
Hydria	P-HY
Feeding Bottle	P-FB
Amphora	P-AM
Jug	P-JG
Flask	P-FL
Coarse Vessel	P-CV
Knobbed Jar	P-KJ
Vase	P-VS
Bird Jug	P-BJ
Lid	P-LD
Piriform Jar	P-PJ
Base Fragment	P-BF

Figure 2.4 – Abbreviation of Pottery Types

ITEM	ABBREVIATION
Necklace	J/O-NK
Bracelet	J/O-BC
Earrings	J/O-ER
Ring/Hair Ring	J/O-RG
Pin	J/O-PN
Bead	J/O-BD
Gold Sheet	J/O-GS
Wire	J/O-WR
Rivet	J/O-RV
Pendant	J/O-PD
Diadem	J/O-DD

Figure 2.5 – Abbreviation of Jewellery/Ornament Types

ITEM	ABBREVIATION
Dagger	W-DG
Arrow	W-AR
Knife	W-KF
Axe	W-AX
Sword	W-SW
Obsidian Blade	W-OB
Bronze Knife	W-KFB
Obsidian Arrow	W-OBA

Figure 2.6 – Abbreviation of Weapon/Tool Types

ITEM	ABBREVIATION
Shell	O/N-SH
Animal Bone	O/N-AB
Funerary Meal	O/N-FM
Ash	O/N-AH
Flint Flake	O/N-FF
Tortoise Shell	O/N-TS
Obsidian	O/N-OB
Stone Implement	O/N-SI
Stone/Pebble	O/N-SP
Charred Grain	O/N-CG
Quartz	O/N-QZ
Ivory	O/N-IV

Figure 2.7 – Abbreviation of Organic/Natural Types

ITEM	ABBREVIATION
Terracotta Whorl	AA-TW
Terracotta Spool	AA-TS
Bronze Fragment	AA-BF
Ceramic	AA-CM
Silver Cup	AA-SC
Vessel	AA-VS
Bone Lid	AA-BL
Bone Awl	AA-BA
Seal	AA-SL
Crystal Vessel	AA-CV
Coffin	AA-CF
Rattle (?)	AA-RT

Figure 2.8 – Abbreviation of Miscellaneous Types

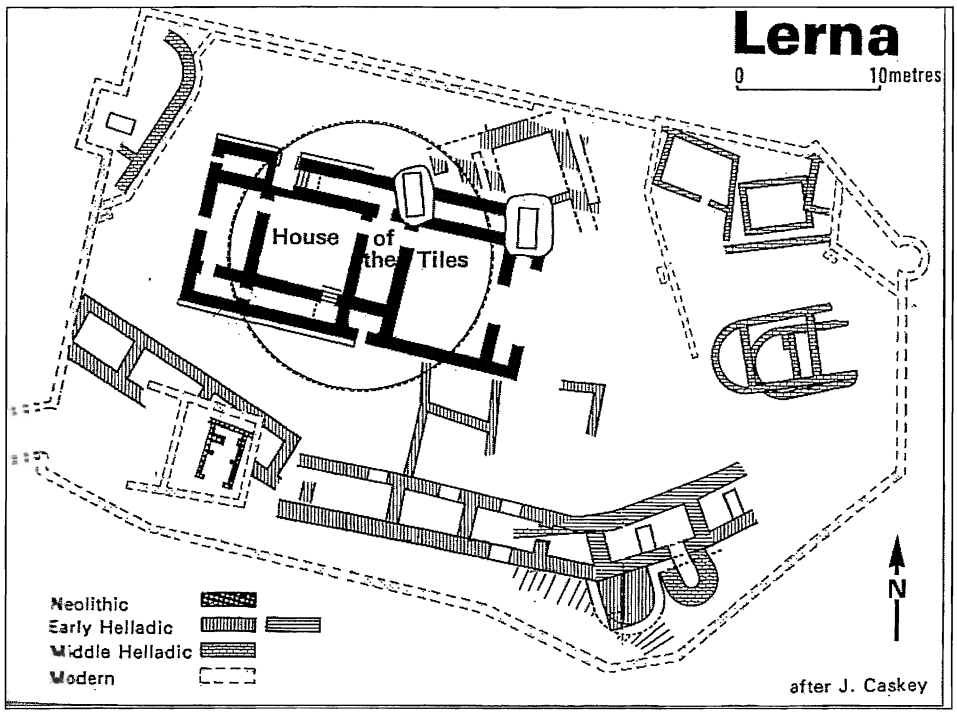

Figure 2.9 – Map of Lerna

Grave Name	Period	Age-at-Death	GT	P *Denotes Miniature	J/O	W	O/N	AA
A11	MH	6 Months	GT-PT			W-OB		
A12	MH	11 Months	GT-J	P-PJ				
A5	MH	8 Years	GT-MBC				O/N-OB	
A7	MH	1+5 1/2 Months (2 Infants)	GT-PT				O/N-OB	
A9	MH	4 1/2 Years	GT-STC			W-OB		AA-BL
B19	MH	1 Month	GT-PT				O/N-SI	
BA3	MH	5 Years	GT-STC		4J/O-BD; J/O-RG			
BC6	MH	4 1/2 Years	GT-MBC	*P-JG			O/N-FF	
BD24	MH	6 Months	GT-JR	P-PJ				
BD28	MH	3 1/2 Months	GT-JR	P-PJ				
BE10	MH	2 Months	GT-PT		4J/O-BD			
BE12	MH	6 Months	GT-STC	P-JB				
BE13+14	MH	1+1 Month (2 Infants)	2GT-STC			W-OB		
BE15	MH	9 Months	GT-STC		J/O-BD			
BE17	MH	9 Months	GT-STC		J/O-PN			
BE29	MH	0-6 Months	GT-JR	P-CP; P-KJ				
BE3	MH	1 Month	GT-SC	P-CV				
BE31	MH	?-Child	GT-JR	P-KJ	J/O-PN			
BE9	MH	9+3 1/2 Months (2 Infants)	GT-PT			W-OB		
D19	MH	6 Months	GT-PT		J/O-RG			AA-BA
D8	MH	6 Months	GT-SC					
DC3	MH	?-Child	GT-STC		J/O-BD; J/O-RV			
DE10	MH	12 Months	GT-PT		7J/O-BD; J/O-RG			
DE15	MH	4 Months	GT-PT		J/O-PN			
DE22	MH	5 1/2 Years	GT-STC	P-JR				*AA-TW
DE27	MH	6 1/2 Years	GT-STC		J/O-RG; 2J/O-PN	W-OB	O/N-SH; O/N-CG	

Figure 2.10 – Table of Grave Name, Period, Age-at-Death, and Objects/Features of Burial Assemblage at Lerna

Grave Name	Period	Age-at-Death	GT	P *Denotes Miniature	J/O	W	O/N	AA
DE33	MH	3 1/2 Months	GT-PT	P-SJ			O/N-CG	
DE42	MH	11 Months	GT-PT		7J/O-BD; 2J/O-RG			
DE46	MH	4 1/2 Years	GT-STC				O/N-AB	
DE50	MH	4 1/2 Months	GT-JR	P-KJ				
DE51	MH	4 1/2 Months	GT-SC				O/N-SH	
DE6	MH	11 Months	GT-SC		J/O-WR	W-OBA; W-OB	O/N-AH	
DE64	MH	7 1/2 Months	GT-PT					AA-BF
BD4	MH I	12 Months	GT-PT	P-FL				
DE68	MH I	1/2-1 Month+5-10 Years (Infant+Child)	GT-JR	P-KJ; P-JR		W-OB		
A10	MH II	6 Years	GT-STC	P-CP			O/N-TS	
BD27	MH II	4 1/2 Years	GT-PT	P-CP				
D21	MH II	3 1/2 Years	GT-PT	P-JG; P-JR			O/N-SP	
DE30	MH II	18-24 Months	GT-PT	P-BL			O/N-QZ; O/N-SH	
BD6	MH II-MH III	8 Months	GT-SC	P-KS; P-KJ				
BE6	MH II-MH III	12 Months	GT-SC	P-CP; P-BL				AA-TW
BC2	MH III	9 1/2 Years	GT-MBC	*P-JG				
BE30	MH III	11 Months+ 4 Adults	P-JR					
D5	MH III	5 Years	GT-MBC	2P-KS; P-JG				
BD1	MH III-LH I	1 1/2 Years	GT-STC	P-CP				
D17	LH I	5 Years	GT-JR	P-JR; P-JG	J/O-RG			AA-BF
DC2	LH I	3 Years	GT-STC	3P-CP; P-GB; P-JG; P-JR	J/O-BD		O/N-OB	
DC4	LH I	?-Child	GT-STC	P-FB; P-BF	8J/O-BD		O/N-OB	
DE39	LH I	6 1/2 Years	GT-STC	P-CP				

Figure 2.10 – Table of Grave Name, Period, Age-at-Death, and Objects/Features of Burial Assemblage at Lerna (continued)

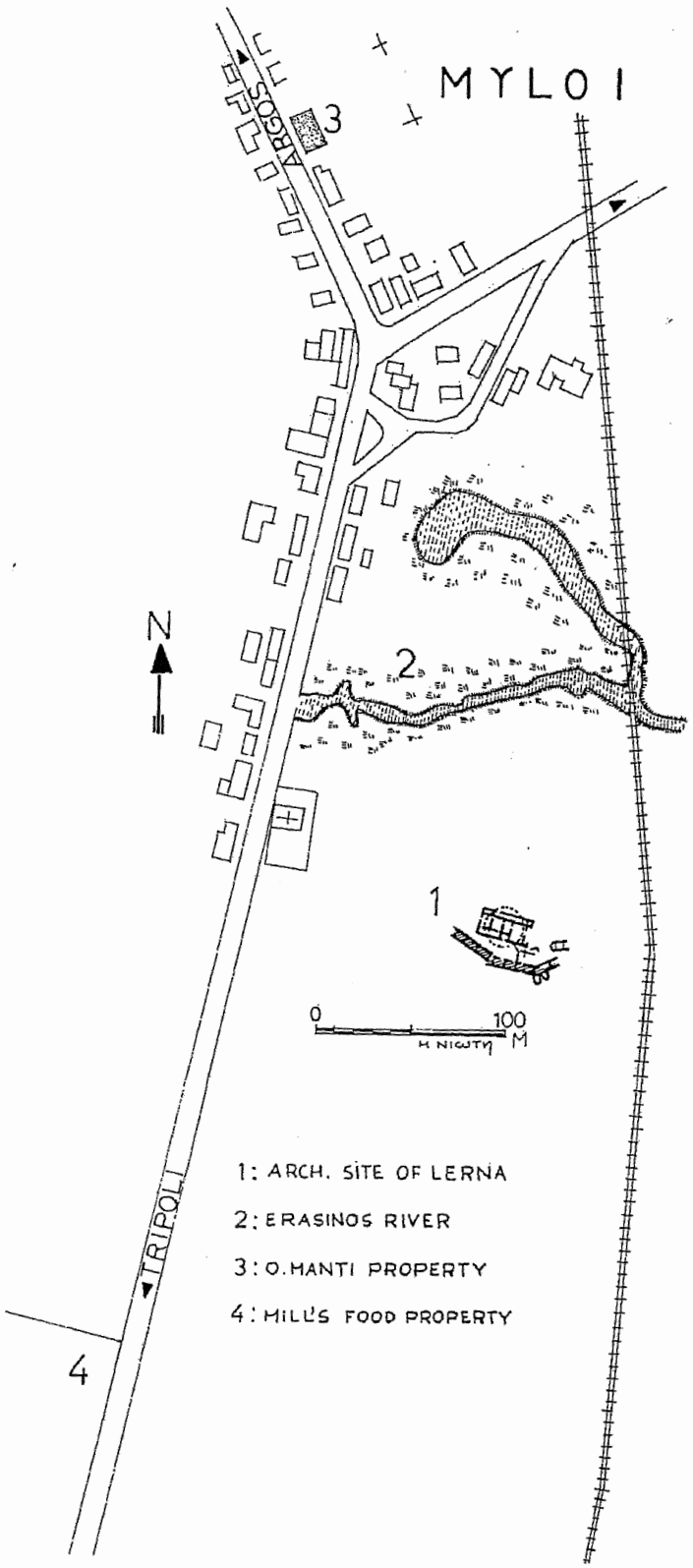

Figure 2.11 – Map of Myloi Area

Grave Name	Period	Age-at-Death	GT	P	J/O	W	O/N	AA
V	MH II-MH III	?-Child	GT-C	P-CP; P-JR; P-JG				AA-TW

Figure 2.12 – Table of Grave Name, Period, Age-at-Death, and Objects/Features of Burial Assemblage at Myloi

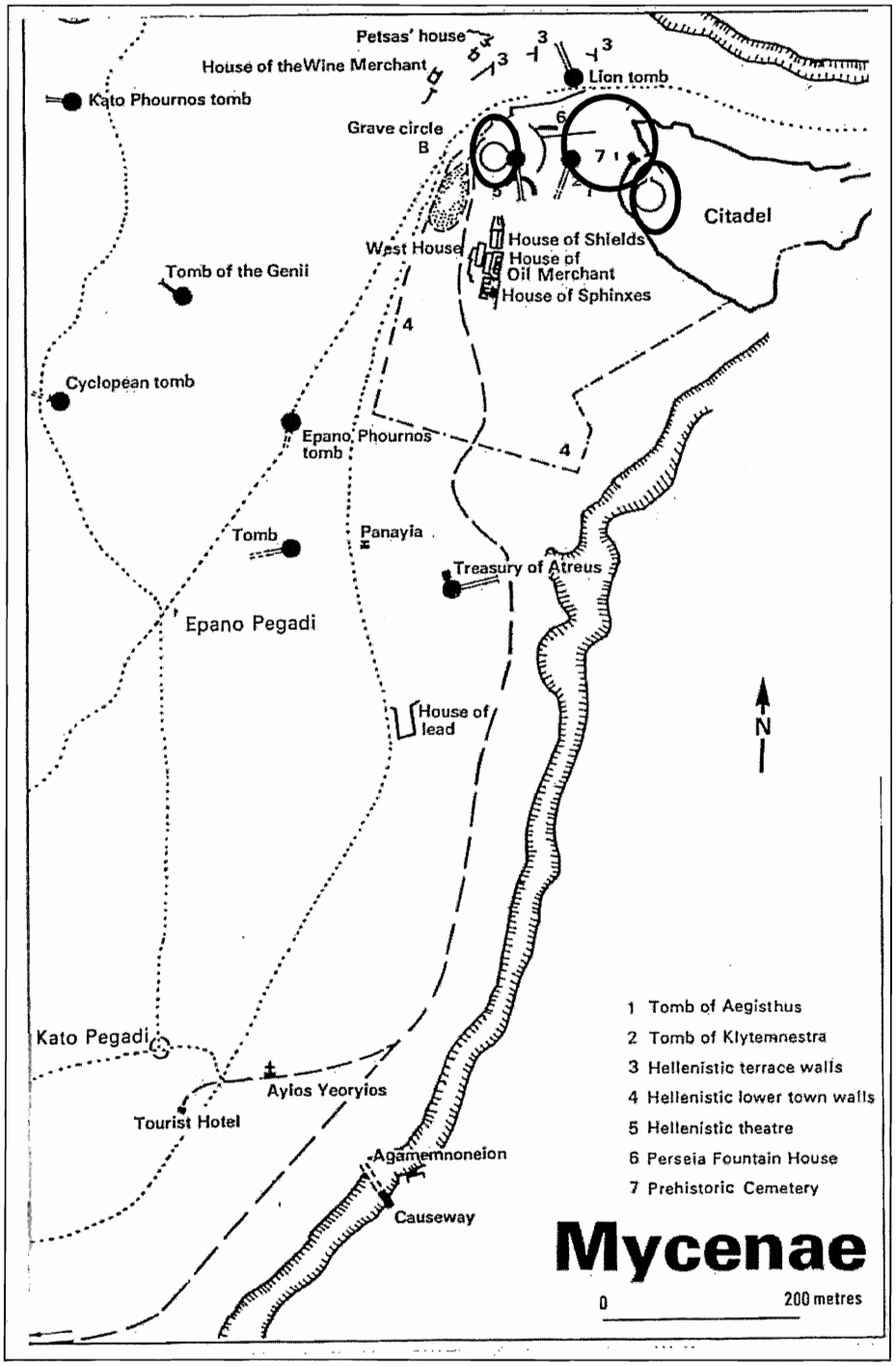

Figure 2.13 – Map of Mycenae

Grave Name	Period	Age-at-Death	GT	P	J/O	W	O/N	AA
Prehistoric Cemetery 1b/2	MH	? (2-3 Infants)	GT-PT; GT-JR	P-JR				
Prehistoric Cemetery 28	MH	?-Child	GT-RC		3J/O-BD			
Prehistoric Cemetery 34	MH	?-Infant	GT-JR	P-JR				
Prehistoric Cemetery V	MH II	10 Years?	GT-RC	P-CV				
Shaft Grave Ξ -1	MH III	2 Years	GT-SF	2P-CP; 2P-JG				
Shaft Grave Λ -2	MH IIIA	5 Years (+Adult Male)	GT-SF	P-CP; P-JG; P-JR				
Shaft Grave I	MH IIIB	?-Child (+Adult Male)	GT-SF	5P-JR; 5P-GB; 2P-CP; P-SJ; 2P-JG	J/O-GS; J/O-BD	W-SW; 2W-DG;	O/N-AB; O/N-PS; O/N-FM	
Shaft Grave Ξ	MH IIIB	5-6 Years (+Adult?)	GT-SF	P-CP; 5P-GB; 4P-BL; 3P-JG; P-JR; P-AS	J/O-NK(BD); J/O-PD; J/O-DD; 2J/O-RG; 2J/O-PN		O/N-AB; O/N-FM	AA-RT
Shaft Grave M	LH IA	? (2 Children)	GT-SF	2P-CP; 8P-GB; P-HY; 3P-JG; 4P-AS; 3P-JR	11J/O-BD; 5J/O-PN			AA-SL
Shaft Grave O	LH IA	?-Child (+Adult)	GT-RC	28P-Assorted with Adult Burial	J/O-GS (Several); J/O-NK; 2J/O-RG; J/O-PN (several)			AA-CV; AA-IV; AA-CM (With Child)

Figure 2.14 – Table of Grave Name, Period, Age-at-Death, and Objects/Features of Burial Assemblage at Mycenae

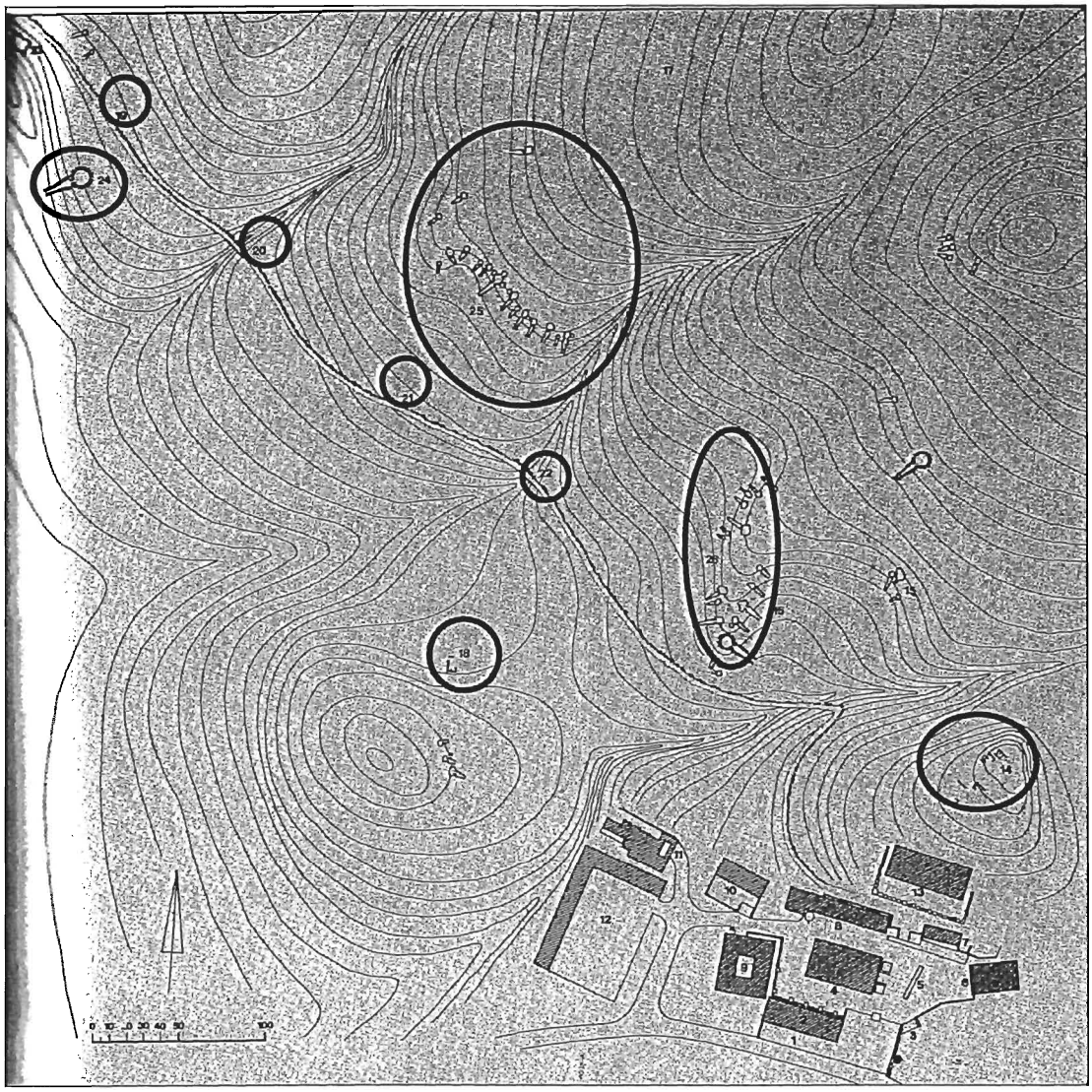

Figure 2.15 – Map of Prosymna

1-13 Sanctuary of Hera. **14** Remains of the settlement of Prosymna. **18** Mycenaean house. **19, 20, 21,** Road between Prosymna and Heraeum. **22** Remains of Mycenaean bridge. **24** Mycenaean tholos tomb. **25, 26** Main cemeteries of Prosymna.

Grave Name	Period	Age-at-Death	GT	P	J/O	W	O/N	AA
23	MH III	?-Child (+Adult)	GT-PT					AA-TW
26	MH III	?-Child	GT-PT	2P-CP; 2P-JG	J/O-RG; J/O-PN			AA-TW
28	MH III	?-Child	GT-PT	P-CP				
20	MH III-LH	?-Child	GT-PT	6P-CP; 5P-JG	7J/O-BD; J/O-PN		63O/N-SH	AA-VS
11	MH III-LH I	?-Child (+Adult)	GT-PT	P-CP	J/O-PN			AA-TW

Figure 2.16 – Table of Grave Name, Period, Age-at-Death, and Objects/Features of Burial Assemblage at Prosymna

Grave Name	Period	Age-at-Death	GT	P	J/O	W	O/N	AA
Court 16	MH	?-Child	GT-STC		3J/O-BD			
Court 30	MH	?-Child	GT-STC	P-VS				

Figure 2.17 – Table of Grave Name, Period, Age-at-Death, and Objects/Features of Burial Assemblage at Tiryns

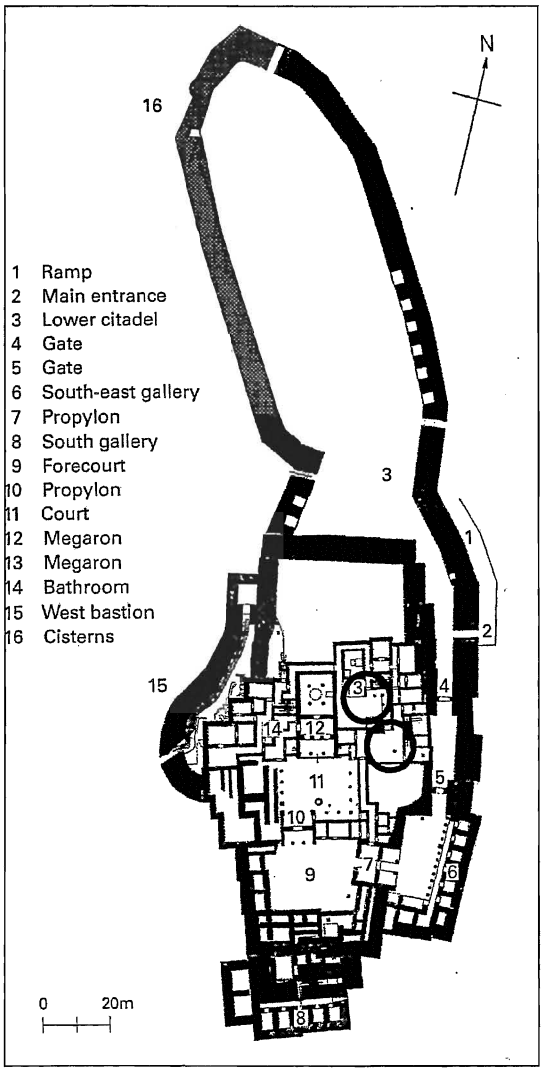

Figure 2.18 – Map of Tiryns

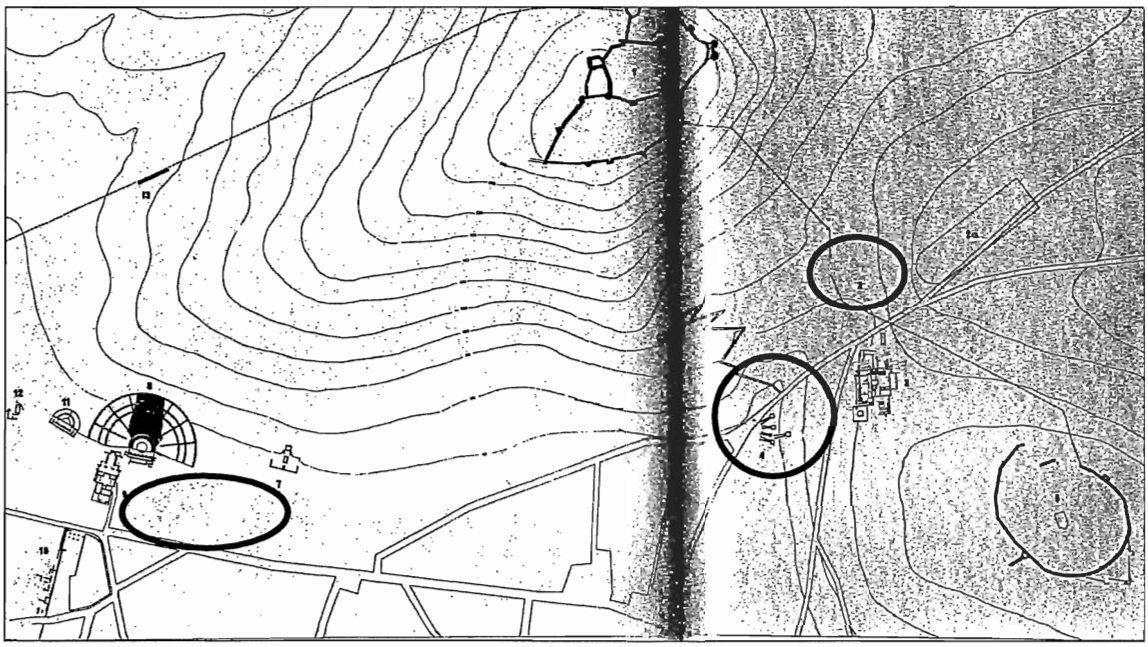

Figure 2.19 – Map of Argos

2 Deiras of Argos (valley between the two hills). **4** Mycenaean burial grounds on Deiras. **(Third Oval)** Middle Helladic Settlement.

Grave Name	Period	Age-at-Death	GT	P	J/O	W	O/N	AA
Tzafas Plot XI	MH	?-Child	GT-STC	1P-KS				
Tzafas Plot VII	MH	?-Child	GT-STC	1P-CP		1W-KF		
Secteur δ	MH	?-Infant	GT-STC	1P-BL				
Deiras 1	MH II?	6-7 Years	GT-J	1P-JR; 1P-BL	1J/O-BD			
Necropole	MH III	?-Infant	?	1P-KS; 1P-CP				
Tumulus E:5	MHIII-LH I	6 Years	GT-C	2P-CP; 2P-AM;	1J/O-GS	2W-DG; 1W-SW		
Tumulus Δ: 10	MHIII-LH I	?-Young Child	GT-C	1-P-CP; 1P-BL; 2P-JG	1J/O-NK; 2J/O-BC; 1J/O-PN; 2 J/O-ER			20AA-VS
Tumulus Γ: xxi	MHIII-LH I	?-Child	GT-C	1P-CP; 1P-GB; 2P-BJ; 1P-CV; 1P-LD				
Tumulus Γ:70	MHIII-LH I	?-Child+Adult	GT-J	1P-J; (13AA-VS with adult?)				

Figure 2.20 – Table of Grave Name, Period, Age-at-Death, and Objects/Features of Burial Assemblage at Argos

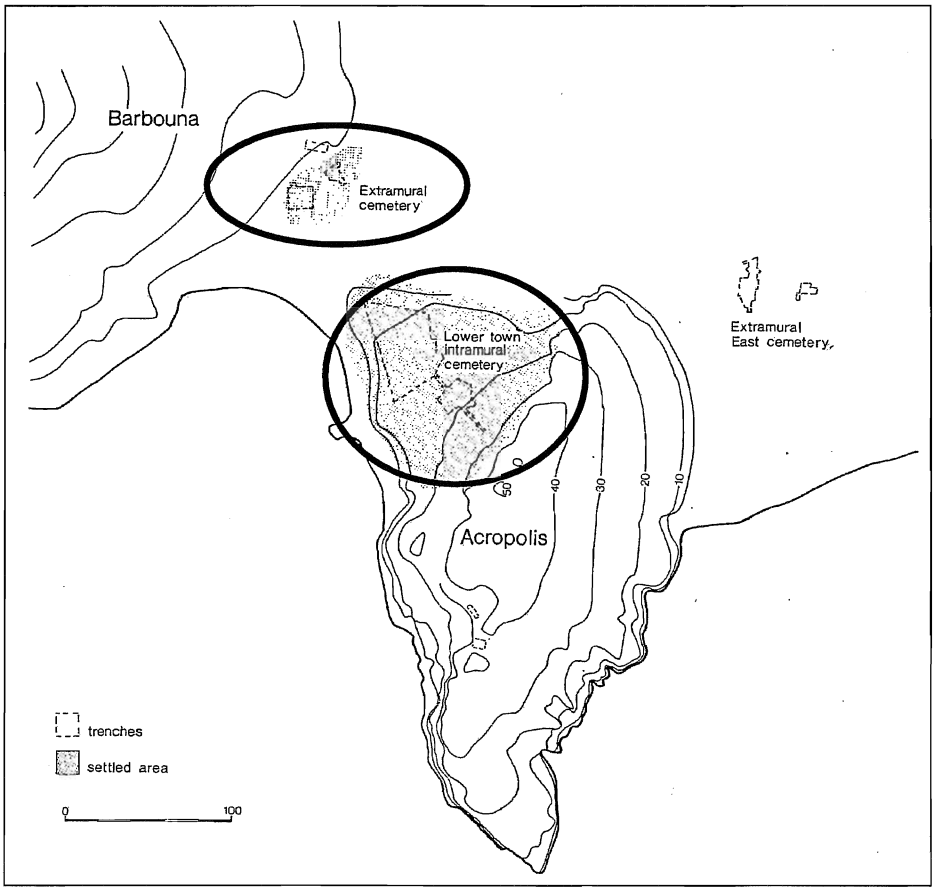

Figure 2.21 – Map of Asine

Grave Name	Period	Age-at-Death	GT	P	J/O	W	O/N	AA
MH90	MH	Child+Adult	GT-PT					AA-TW
MH87	MH	8 Months	GT-J	P-JR		W-AX		
MH85	MH	9 Months	GT-PT					AA-TW
MH73	MH	?-Very Young Child	GT-C			W-AX		
MH72	MH	Newborn+2 Cranium	GT-C			W-AX		
MH69	MH	?-Child	GT-PT					AA-TS
MH67	MH	9 Months	GT-PT					AA-TW; AA-CF
MH65	MH	1-1/2 and/or 5 1/2 Month	GT-PT					AA-CF
MH64	MH	5 1/2 Months	GT-PT					AA-CF
MH63	MH	5 1/2 Years	GT-PT					AA-BA
MH39	MH	?-Very Young Child	GT-PT	P-JR				
MH1972-7	MH	12-18 Months	GT-SC				O/N-AB	
MH1970-7	MH	3-4 Years	GT-SC		J/O-ER			
MH12	MH	?-Young Person	GT-JR	P-JR				
B33	MH	2 Months (2 Infants)	GT-PT		J/O-BD		O/N-SH	
MH11	MH I	?-Child	GT-JR	P-JR				
MH34	MH II	?-Child	GT-C	P-CP				
MH35	MH II-MH III	4 Months	GT-PT				O/N-CH; O/N-AH	
B12	MH II-MH III	?-Infant	GT-PT	P-KS				
B15	MH III	10 Years	GT-SC	P-JR; P-GB	J/O-NK; J/O-ER; J/O-BD		O/N-SH	
B29	MH III	0-6 Months (2 Infants)	GT-PT				O/N-SH	
MH10	MH III	?-Child	GT-JR	P-JR			O/N-CH	
MH32	MH III	?-Infant	GT-C	P-FB				
MH18	MH III-LH I	?-Small Child	GT-C	P-JR; P-GB			O/N-SH; O/N-CH; O/N-AB	

Figure 2.22 – Table of Grave Name, Period, Age-at-Death, and Objects/Features of Burial Assemblage at Asine

PERIOD	NUMBER OF GRAVES
MH	56
MH I	3
MH II	7
MH II-III	5
MH III/A/B	15
MH III-LH I	8
LH I/A	6
TOTAL	100

Figure 3.1 – Total Number of Graves by Period

ITEM/FEATURE	MH		MH I		MH II		MH II-MH III		MH III		MH III-LH I		LH I		TOTAL NUMBER OF ITEM/FEATURE	TOTAL PERCENT WITHIN CATEGORY	TOTAL PERCENT OF TOTAL NUMBER
Pit	20	58.8%	1	2.9%	3	8.8%	2	5.9%	6	17.6%	2	5.9%		0.0%	**34**	**34.0%**	**6.1%**
Jar	10	62.5%	2	12.5%	1	6.3%		0.0%	1	6.3%	1	6.3%	1	6.3%	**16**	**16.0%**	**2.9%**
Cist	2	22.2%		0.0%	1	11.1%	1	11.1%	1	11.1%	4	44.4%		0.0%	**9**	**9.0%**	**1.6%**
Semi-Cist	3	75.0%		0.0%		0.0%	1	25.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	**4**	**4.0%**	**0.7%**
Stone-Cist	18	72.0%		0.0%	1	4.0%	1	4.0%	1	4.0%	1	4.0%	3	12.0%	**25**	**25.0%**	**4.5%**
Mudbrick-Cist	2	50.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	2	50.0%		0.0%		0.0%	**4**	**4.0%**	**0.7%**
Shaft		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	4	80.0%		0.0%	1	20.0%	**5**	**5.0%**	**0.9%**
Stone-Cut	1	33.3%		0.0%	1	33.3%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	1	33.3%	**3**	**3.0%**	**0.5%**
Jar	6	20.7%	2	6.9%	3	10.3%	1	3.4%	9	31.0%	3	10.3%	5	17.2%	**29**	**18.2%**	**5.2%**
Spouted Jar	1	50.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	1	50.0%		0.0%		0.0%	**2**	**1.3%**	**0.4%**
Bowl	1	11.1%		0.0%	2	22.2%	1	11.1%	4	44.4%	1	11.1%		0.0%	**9**	**5.7%**	**1.6%**
Kantharos	1	12.5%		0.0%		0.0%	4	50.0%	3	37.5%		0.0%		0.0%	**8**	**5.0%**	**1.4%**
Cup	2	5.6%		0.0%	3	8.3%	2	5.6%	10	27.8%	13	36.1%	6	16.7%	**36**	**22.6%**	**6.5%**
Goblet		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	11	50.0%	2	9.1%	9	40.9%	**22**	**13.8%**	**4.0%**
Askos		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	1	20.0%		0.0%	4	80.0%	**5**	**3.1%**	**0.9%**
Hydria		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	1	100.0%	**1**	**0.6%**	**0.2%**
Feeding Bottle	1	50.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	1	50.0%		0.0%		0.0%	**2**	**1.3%**	**0.4%**
Amphora		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	2	100.0%		0.0%	**2**	**1.3%**	**0.4%**
Jug		0.0%		0.0%	1	3.8%	1	3.8%	12	46.2%	7	26.9%	5	19.2%	**26**	**16.4%**	**4.7%**
Flask		0.0%	1	100.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	**1**	**0.6%**	**0.2%**
Coarse Vessel	1	33.3%		0.0%	1	33.3%		0.0%		0.0%	1	33.3%		0.0%	**3**	**1.9%**	**0.5%**
Knobbed Jar	3	60.0%	1	20.0%		0.0%	1	20.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	**5**	**3.1%**	**0.9%**
Vase	1	100.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	**1**	**0.6%**	**0.2%**
Bird Jug		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	2	100.0%		0.0%	**2**	**1.3%**	**0.4%**
Lid		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	1	100.0%		0.0%	**1**	**0.6%**	**0.2%**

Figure 3.2 - Totals of Child Grave Assemblages from the MH-LH I Periods of the Argolid

ITEM/FEATURE	MH		MH I		MH II		MH II-MH III		MH III		MH III-LH I		LH I		TOTAL NUMBER OF ITEM/FEATURE	TOTAL PERCENT WITHIN CATEGORY	TOTAL PERCENT OF TOTAL NUMBER
Piriform Jar	3	100.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	3	1.9%	0.5%
Base Fragment	1	100.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	1	0.6%	0.2%
Necklace		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	1	33.3%	1	33.3%	1	33.3%	3	2.7%	0.5%
Bracelet		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	1	100.0%		0.0%	1	0.9%	0.2%
Earrings	2	33.3%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	2	33.3%	2	33.3%		0.0%	6	5.4%	1.1%
Ring/Hair Ring	6	60.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	2	20.0%		0.0%	2	20.0%	10	8.9%	1.8%
Pin	6	37.5%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	1	6.3%	3	18.8%	6	37.5%	16	14.3%	2.9%
Bead	42	62.7%		0.0%	1	1.5%		0.0%	4	6.0%	8	11.9%	12	17.9%	67	59.8%	12.1%
Gold Sheet		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	1	33.3%	1	33.3%	1	33.3%	3	2.7%	0.5%
Wire		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	1	100.0%		0.0%	0	0.0%	1	0.9%	0.2%
Rivet	1	100.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	1	0.9%	0.2%
Pendant		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	1	50.0%	1	50.0%		0.0%	2	1.8%	0.4%
Diadem		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	1	100.0%		0.0%		0.0%	1	0.9%	0.2%
Bronze Wire	1	100.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	1	0.9%	0.2%
Axe	3	100.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	3	20.0%	0.5%
Sword		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	1	50.0%	1	50.0%		0.0%	2	13.3%	0.4%
Obsidian Blade	5	71.4%	1	14.3%	1	14.3%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	7	46.7%	1.3%
Bronze Knife	1	100.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	1	6.7%	0.2%
Obsidian Arrow	1	100.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	1	6.7%	0.2%
Shell	50	87.7%		0.0%	1	1.8%		0.0%	3	5.3%	3	5.3%		0.0%	57	68.7%	10.3%
Animal Bone	2	40.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	2	40.0%	1	20.0%		0.0%	5	6.0%	0.9%
Funerary Meal		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	2	100.0%		0.0%		0.0%	2	2.4%	0.4%
Ash	1	50.0%		0.0%		0.0%	1	50.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	2	2.4%	0.4%
Flint Flake	1	100.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	1	1.2%	0.2%
Tortoise Shell		0.0%		0.0%	1	100.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	1	1.2%	0.2%

Figure 3.2 - Totals of Child Grave Assemblages from the MH-LH I Periods of the Argolid (continued)

ITEM/FEATURE	MH		MH I		MH II		MH II-MH III		MH III		MH III-LH I		LH I		TOTAL NUMBER OF ITEM/FEATURE	TOTAL PERCENT WITHIN CATEGORY	TOTAL PERCENT OF TOTAL NUMBER
Obsidian	3	75.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	1	25.0%	4	4.8%	0.7%
Stone Implement	1	100.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	1	1.2%	0.2%
Stone/Pebble		0.0%		0.0%	2	100.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	2	2.4%	0.4%
Charred Grain	2	100.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	2	2.4%	0.4%
Quartz		0.0%		0.0%	1	100.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	1	1.2%	0.2%
Ivory		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	1	100.0%	1	1.2%	0.2%
Charcoal		0.0%		0.0%	1	33.3%	1	33.3%		0.0%	1	33.3%		0.0%	3	3.6%	0.5%
Powdered Substance		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	1	100.0%		0.0%		0.0%	1	1.2%	0.2%
Terracotta Whorl	4	40.0%		0.0%		0.0%	2	20.0%	2	20.0%	2	20.0%		0.0%	10	11.8%	1.8%
Terracotta Spool	1	100.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	1	1.2%	0.2%
Bronze Fragment	1	50.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	1	50.0%	2	2.4%	0.4%
Ceramic		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	1	100.0%	1	1.2%	0.2%
Silver Cup		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	1	100.0%		0.0%		0.0%	1	1.2%	0.2%
Vessel		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	33	54.1%	28	45.9%	61	71.8%	11.0 %
Bone Lid	1	100.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	1	1.2%	0.2%
Bone Awl	2	100.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	2	2.4%	0.4%
Seal		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	1	100.0%	1	1.2%	0.2%
Crystal Vessel		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	1	100.0%	1	1.2%	0.2%
Coffin	3	100.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	3	3.5%	0.5%
Rattle (?)		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	1	100.0%		0.0%		0.0%	1	1.2%	0.2%
TOTAL	**217**		**8**		**25**		**19**		**94**		**98**		**92**		**553**		**100.0 %**
PERCENT	**39.2%**		**1.4%**		**4.5%**		**3.4%**		**17.0%**		**17.7%**		**16.6%**		**100.0%**		

Figure 3.2 - Totals of Child Grave Assemblages from the MH-LH I Periods of the Argolid (continued)

ITEM	ABBREVIATION	UNITS OF WEALTH (1-10)
Pit	GT-PT	1
Jar	GT-J	2
Cist	GT-C	6
Semi-Cist	GT-SC	4
Rock-Cist	GT-RC	5
Mudbrick-Cist	GT-MBC	5
Shaft	GT-SF	10
Stone-Cut	GT-STCT	7

Figure 3.3 - Units of Wealth-Grave Type

ITEM	ABBREVIATION	UNITS OF WEALTH (1-10)
Jar	P-JR	2
Spouted Jar	P-SJ	3
Bowl	P-BL	2
Kantharos	P-KS	5
Cup	P-CP	1
Goblet	P-GB	3
Askos	P-AS	8
Hydria	P-HY	6
Feeding Bottle	P-FB	8
Amphora	P-AM	5
Jug	P-JG	4
Flask	P-FL	7
Coarse Vessel	P-CV	1
Knobbed Jar	P-KJ	7
Vase	P-VS	5
Bird Jug	P-BJ	9
Lid	P-LD	1
Piriform Jar	P-PJ	6
Base Fragment	P-BF	1

Figure 3.4 - Units of Wealth-Pottery

ITEM	ABBREVIATION	UNITS OF WEALTH (1-10)
Necklace	J/O-NK	8
Bracelet	J/O-BC	7
Earrings	J/O-ER	6
Ring/Hair Ring	J/O-RG	4
Pin	J/O-PN	3
Bead	J/O-BD	3
Gold Sheet	J/O-GS	6
Wire	J/O-WR	5
Rivet	J/O-RV	2
Pendant	J/O-PD	7
Diadem	J/O-DD	8

Figure 3.5 - Units of Wealth-Jewellery/Ornament

ITEM	ABBREVIATION	UNITS OF WEALTH (1-10)
Dagger	W-DG	7
Arrow	W-AR	1
Knife	W-KF	6
Axe	W-AX	3
Sword	W-SW	10
Obsidian Blade	W-OB	5
Bronze Knife	W-KFB	6
Obsidian Arrow	W-OBA	2

Figure 3.6 - Units of Wealth-Weapon/Tool

ITEM	ABBREVIATION	UNITS OF WEALTH (1-10)
Shell	O/N-SH	2
Animal Bone	O/N-AB	3
Funerary Meal	O/N-FM	2
Ash	O/N-AH	2
Flint Flake	O/N-FF	2
Tortoise Shell	O/N-TS	5
Obsidian	O/N-OB	5
Stone Implement	O/N-SI	4
Stone/Pebble	O/N-SP	2
Charred Grain	O/N-CG	2
Quartz	O/N-QZ	6
Ivory	O/N-IV	8

Figure 3.7 - Units of Wealth-Organic/Natural

ITEM	ABBREVIATION	UNITS OF WEALTH (1-10)
Terracotta Whorl	AA-TW	5
Terracotta Spool	AA-TS	5
Bronze Fragment	AA-BF	6
Ceramic	AA-CM	5
Silver Cup	AA-SC	10
Vessel	AA-VS	6
Bone Lid	AA-BL	5
Bone Awl	AA-BA	5
Seal	AA-SL	10
Crystal Vessel	AA-CV	10
Coffin	AA-CF	7
Rattle (?)	AA-RT	9

Figure 3.8 - Units of Wealth-Miscellaneous

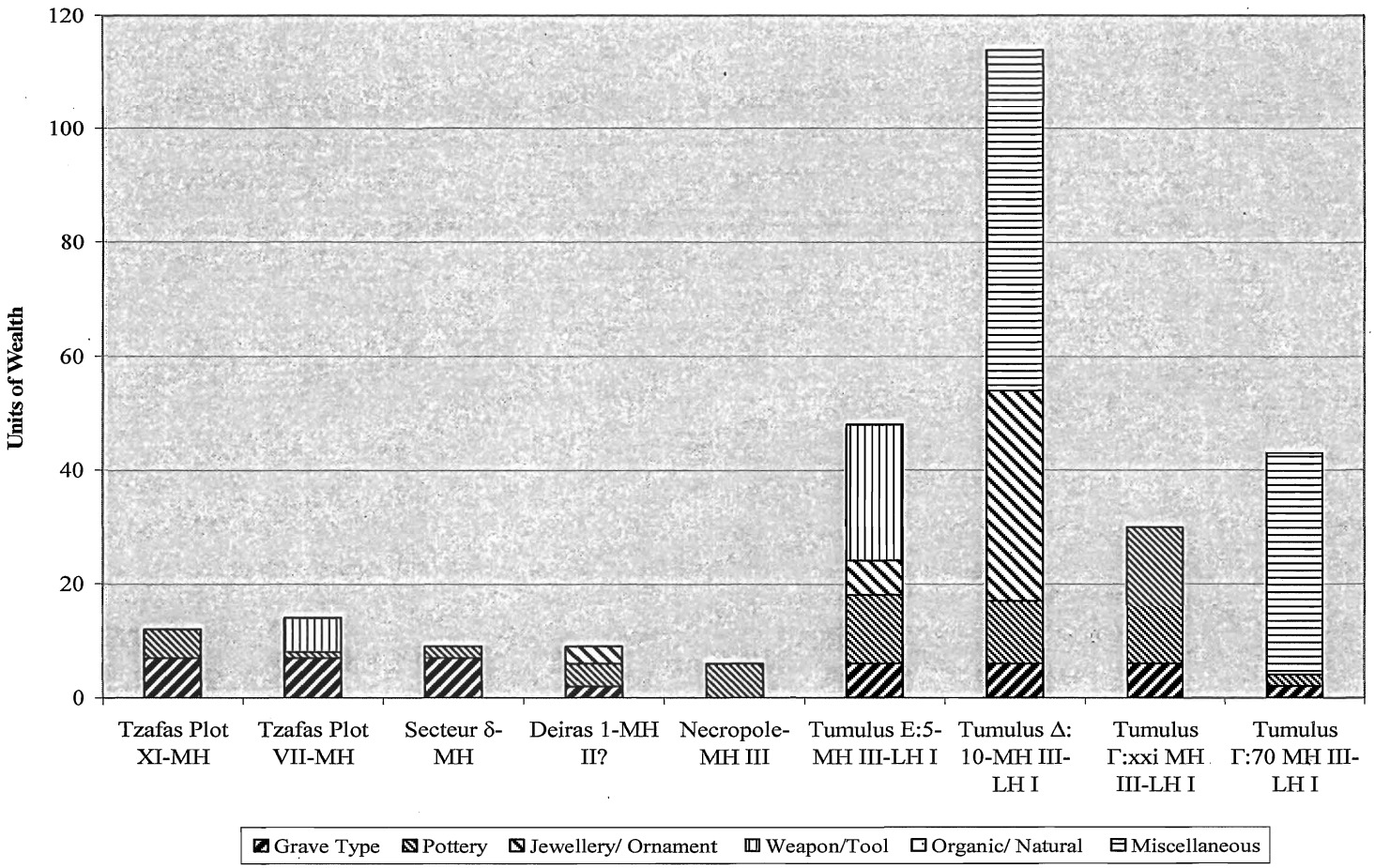

Figure 3.9 - Histogram Showing Richness in Children's Graves from MH-LH I at Argos

		GRAVE NAME								
		Tzafas Plot XI-MH	Tzafas Plot VII-MH	Secteur δ-MH	Deiras 1-MH II?	Necropole-MH III	Tumulus E:5-MH III-LH I	Tumulus Δ: 10-MH III-LH I	Tumulus Γ:xxi MH III-LH I	Tumulus Γ:70 MH III-LH I
CATEGORY TYPE	Grave Type	7	7	7	2	0	6	6	6	2
	Pottery	5	1	2	4	6	12	11	24	2
	Jewellery/ Ornament	0	0	0	3	0	6	37	0	0
	Weapon/Tool	0	6	0	0	0	24	0	0	0
	Organic/ Natural	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Miscellaneous	0	0	0	0	0	0	60	0	39
	TOTAL	12	14	9	9	6	48	114	30	43
PERCENT OF TOTAL WEALTH (ARGOS)		4.2%	4.9%	3.2%	3.2%	2.1%	16.8%	40.0%	10.5%	15.1%
PERCENT OF TOTAL WEALTH (ALL)		0.7%	0.8%	0.5%	0.5%	0.3%	2.7%	6.3%	1.7%	2.4%

Figure 3.10 - Table Showing Richness in Children's Graves from MH-LH I at Argos

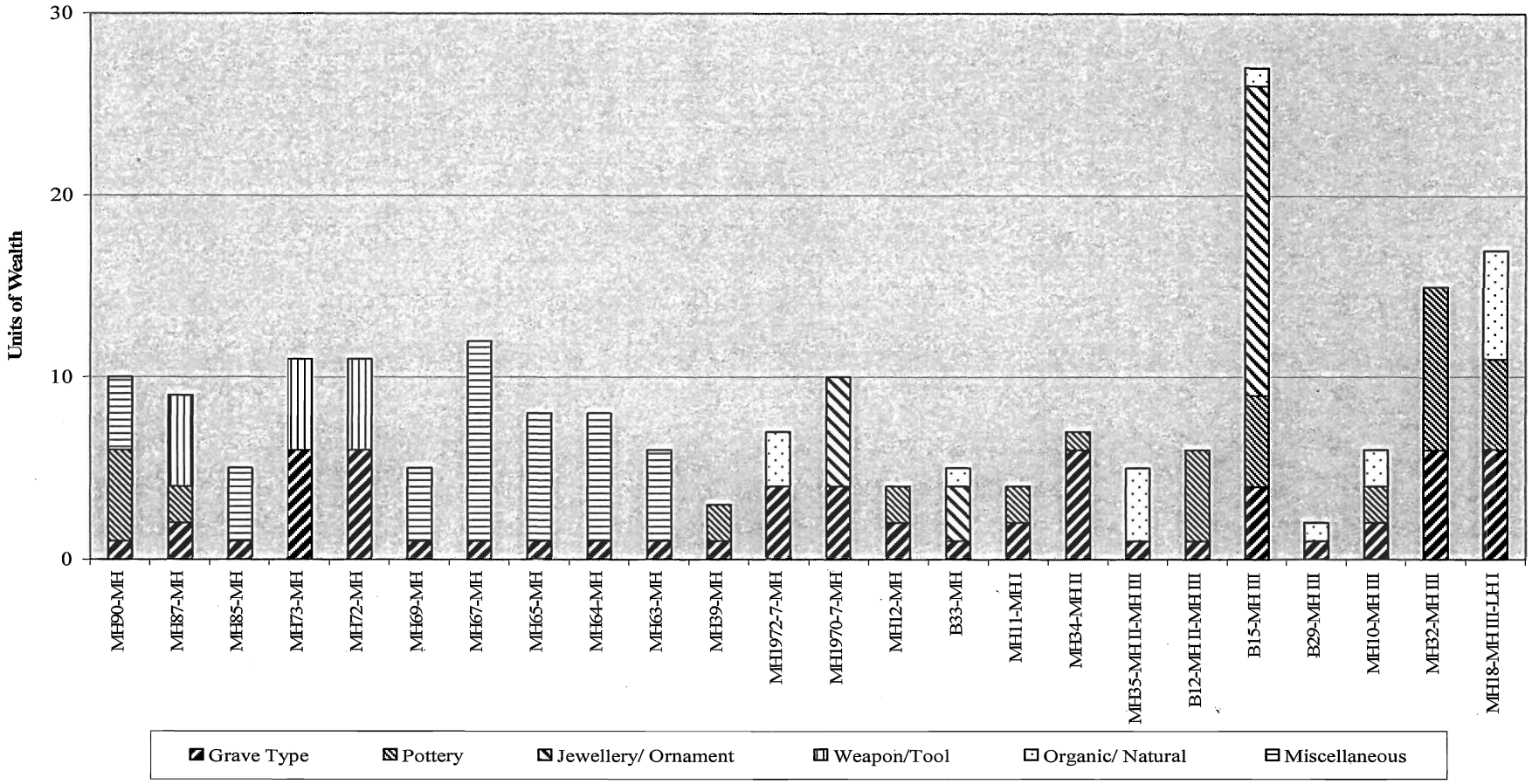

Figure 3.11 - Histogram Showing Richness in Children's Graves from MH-LH I of Asine

	CATEGORY TYPE							PERCENT OF TOTAL WEALTH (ASINE)	PERCENT OF TOTAL WEALTH (ALL)
GRAVE NAME	Grave Type	Pottery	Jewellery/ Ornament	Weapon/Tool	Organic/ Natural	Miscellaneous	TOTAL		
MH90-MH	1	5	0	0	0	4	10	4.9%	0.6%
MH87-MH	2	2	0	5	0	0	9	4.4%	0.5%
MH85-MH	1	0	0	0	0	4	5	2.5%	0.3%
MH73-MH	6	0	0	5	0	0	11	5.4%	0.6%
MH72-MH	6	0	0	5	0	0	11	5.4%	0.6%
MH69-MH	1	0	0	0	0	4	5	2.5%	0.3%
MH67-MH	1	0	0	0	0	11	12	5.9%	0.7%
MH65-MH	1	0	0	0	0	7	8	3.9%	0.4%
MH64-MH	1	0	0	0	0	7	8	3.9%	0.4%
MH63-MH	1	0	0	0	0	5	6	3.0%	0.3%
MH39-MH	1	2	0	0	0	0	3	1.5%	0.2%
MH1972-7-MH	4	0	0	0	3	0	7	3.4%	0.4%
MH1970-7-MH	4	0	6	0	0	0	10	4.9%	0.6%
MH12-MH	2	2	0	0	0	0	4	2.0%	0.2%
B33-MH	1	0	3	0	1	0	5	2.5%	0.3%
MH11-MH I	2	2	0	0	0	0	4	2.0%	0.2%
MH34-MH II	6	1	0	0	0	0	7	3.4%	0.4%
MH35-MH II-MH III	1	0	0	0	4	0	5	2.5%	0.3%
B12-MH II-MH III	1	5	0	0	0	0	6	3.0%	0.3%
B15-MH III	4	5	17	0	1	0	27	13.3%	1.5%
B29-MH III	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	1.0%	0.1%
MH10-MH III	2	2	0	0	2	0	6	3.0%	0.3%
MH32-MH III	6	9	0	0	0	0	15	7.4%	0.8%
MH18-MH III-LH I	6	5	0	0	6	0	17	8.4%	0.9%
TOTAL	62	40	102	15	18	33	203		
TOTAL %	30.5%	19.7%	50.2%	7.4%	8.9%	16.3%	100.0%		

Figure 3.12 - Table Showing Richness in Children's Graves from MH-LH I at Asine

Figure 3.13 - Histogram Showing Richness in Children's Graves from Lerna MH-LH I

	CATEGORY TYPE								
GRAVE NAME	Grave Type	Pottery	Jewellery/ Ornament	Weapon/Tool	Organic/ Natural	Miscellaneous	TOTAL	Percent of Total Wealth (LERNA)	Percent of Total Wealth (ALL)
A11-MH	1	0	0	5	0	0	6	1.1%	0.3%
A12-MH	2	6	0	0	0	0	8	1.4%	0.4%
A5-MH	5	0	0	0	5	0	10	1.8%	0.6%
A7-MH	1	0	0	0	5	0	6	1.1%	0.3%
A9-MH	7	0	0	5	0	0	12	2.1%	0.7%
B19-MH	1	0	0	0	4	0	5	0.9%	0.3%
BA3-MH	7	0	16	0	0	0	23	4.0%	1.3%
BC6-MH	5	0	0	0	2	0	7	1.2%	0.4%
BD24-MH	2	6	0	0	0	0	8	1.4%	0.4%
BD28-MH	2	6	0	0	0	0	8	1.4%	0.4%
BE10-MH	1	0	12	0	0	0	13	2.3%	0.7%
BE12-MH	7	4	0	0	0	0	11	1.9%	0.6%
BE13+1-MH	14	0	0	5	0	0	19	3.3%	1.1%
BE15-MH	7	0	3	0	0	0	10	1.8%	0.6%
BE17-MH	7	0	3	0	0	0	10	1.8%	0.6%
BE29-MH	2	8	0	0	0	0	10	1.8%	0.6%
BE3-MH	4	1	0	0	0	0	5	0.9%	0.3%
BE31-MH	2	7	3	0	0	0	12	2.1%	0.7%
BE9-MH	1	0	0	5	0	0	6	1.1%	0.3%
D19-MH	1	0	4	0	0	0	5	0.9%	0.3%
D8-MH	4	0	0	0	0	0	4	0.7%	0.2%
DC3-MH	7	0	5	0	0	0	12	2.1%	0.7%
DE10-MH	1	0	25	0	0	0	26	4.6%	1.4%
DE15-MH	1	0	3	0	0	0	4	0.7%	0.2%
DE22-MH	7	2	0	0	0	0	9	1.6%	0.5%
DE27-MH	7	0	10	5	4	0	26	4.6%	1.4%

Figure 3.14 - Table Showing Richness in Children's Graves from MH-LH I at Lerna

GRAVE NAME	Grave Type	Pottery	Jewellery/ Ornament	Weapon/Tool	Organic/ Natural	Miscellaneous	TOTAL	Percent of Total Wealth (LERNA)	Percent of Total Wealth (ALL)
DE33-MH	1	3	0	0	2	0	6	1.1%	0.3%
DE42-MH	1	0	29	0	0	0	30	5.3%	1.7%
DE46-MH	7	0	0	0	3	0	10	1.8%	0.6%
DE50-MH	2	7	0	0	0	0	9	1.6%	0.5%
DE51-MH	4	0	0	0	2	0	6	1.1%	0.3%
DE6-MH	4	0	4	7	2	0	17	3.0%	0.9%
DE64-MH	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.2%	0.1%
BD4-MH I	1	7	0	0	0	0	8	1.4%	0.4%
DE68-MH I	2	9	0	5	0	0	16	2.8%	0.9%
A10-MH II	7	1	0	0	5	0	13	2.3%	0.7%
BD27-MH II	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	0.4%	0.1%
D21-MH II	1	6	0	0	2	0	9	1.6%	0.5%
DE30-MH II	1	2	0	0	7	0	10	1.8%	0.6%
BD6-MH II-MH III	4	12	0	0	0	0	16	2.8%	0.9%
BE6-MH II-MH III	4	3	0	0	0	0	7	1.2%	0.4%
BC2-MH III	5	7	0	0	0	0	12	2.1%	0.7%
BE30-MH III	1	2	0	0	0	0	3	0.5%	0.2%
D5-MH III	5	14	0	0	0	0	19	3.3%	1.1%
BD1-MH III-LH I	7	1	0	0	0	0	8	1.4%	0.4%
D17-LH I	2	6	4	0	0	0	12	2.1%	0.7%
DC2-LH I	7	12	3	0	5	0	27	4.7%	1.5%
DC4-LH I	7	10	24	0	5	0	46	8.1%	2.5%
DE39-LH I	7	1	0	0	0	0	8	1.4%	0.4%
TOTAL	188	144	148	37	53	0	570		
PERCENT	33.0%	25.3%	26.0%	6.5%	9.3%	0.0%	100.0%		

Figure 3.14 - Table Showing Richness in Children's Graves from MH-LH I at Lerna (continued)

Figure 3.15 - Histogram Showing Richness in Children's Graves from Mycenae MH-LH I

		GRAVE NAME											
		Prehistoric Cemetery 1b/2-MH	Prehistoric Cemetery 28-MH	Prehistoric Cemetery 34-MH	Prehistoric Cemetery V-MH II	Shaft Grave Ξ -1-MH III	Shaft Grave Λ -2-MH III A	Shaft Grave I-MH III B	Shaft Grave Ξ-MH IIIB	Shaft Grave M-LH IA	Shaft Grave O-LH IA	TOTAL	TOTAL PERCENT
CATEGORY TYPE	**Grave Type**	3	5	2	5	11	10	10	10	10	10	76	13.8%
	Pottery	2	0	2	1	10	7	34	46	82	0	184	33.3%
	Jewellery/ Ornament	0	9	0	0	0	0	9	30	48	32	128	23.2%
	Weapon/Tool	0	0	0	0	0	0	24	0	0	0	24	4.3%
	Organic/ Natural	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	5	0	10	22	4.0%
	Miscellaneous	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	10	98	118	21.4%
	TOTAL	5	14	4	6	21	17	84	101	150	150	552	100.0%
PERCENT OF TOTAL WEALTH (MYCENAE)		0.9%	2.5%	0.7%	1.1%	3.8%	3.1%	15.2%	18.3%	27.2%	27.2%		
PERCENT OF TOTAL WEALTH (ALL)		0.3%	0.8%	0.2%	0.3%	1.2%	0.9%	4.7%	5.6%	8.3%	8.3%		

Figure 3.16 - Table Showing Richness in Children's Graves from MH-LH I at Mycenae

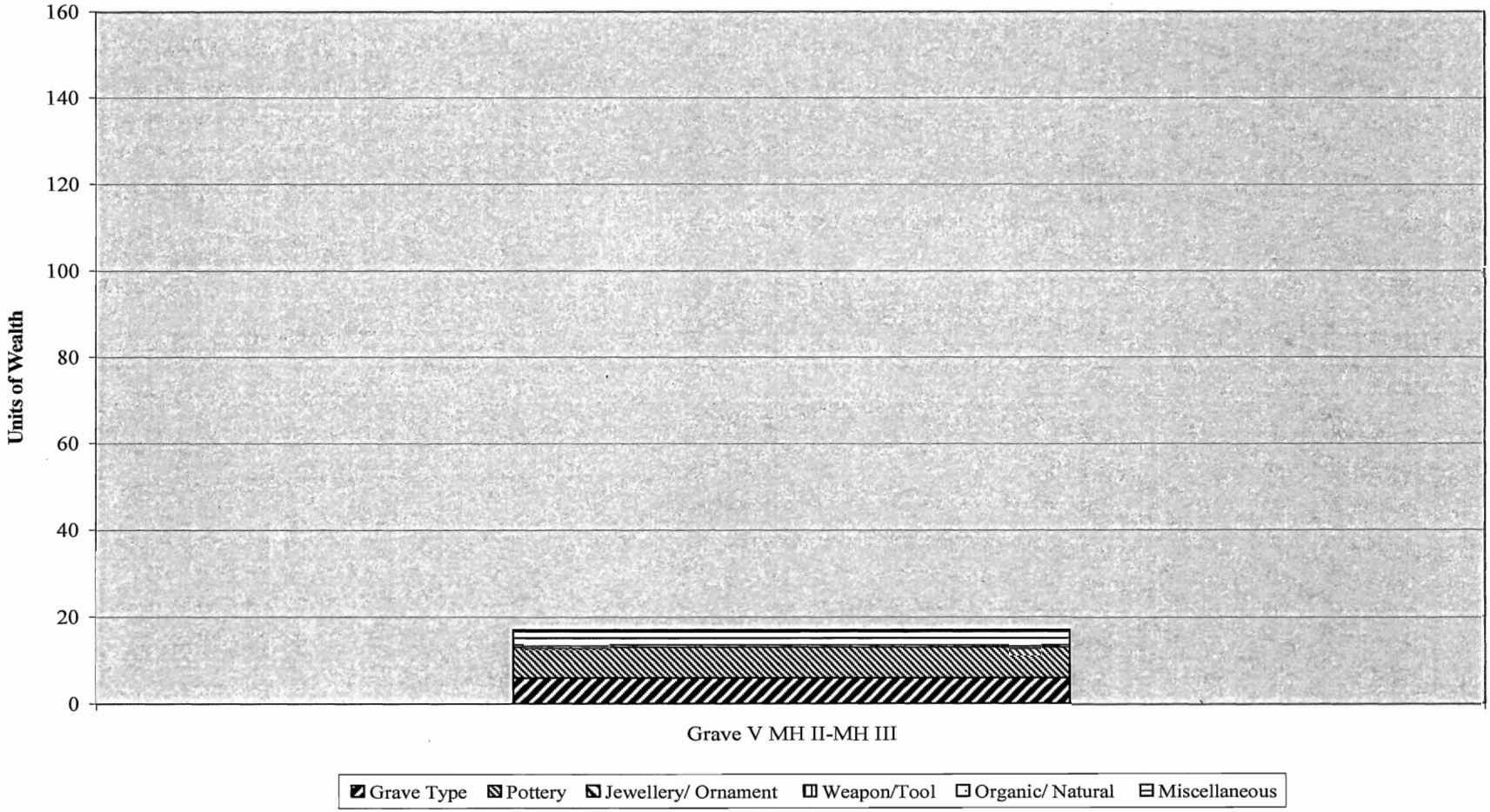

Figure 3.17 - Histogram Showing Richness in Children's Graves from Myloi MH-LH I

		GRAVE NAME		
		Grave V MH II-MH III	TOTAL	TOTAL PERCENT
CATEGORY TYPE	Grave Type	6	6	35.3%
	Pottery	7	7	41.2%
	Jewellery/ Ornament	0	0	0.0%
	Weapon/Tool	0	0	0.0%
	Organic/ Natural	0	0	0.0%
	Miscellaneous	4	4	23.5%
	TOTAL	17	17	
PERCENT OF TOTAL WEALTH (MYLOI)		100.0%		
PERCENT OF TOTAL WEALTH (ALL)		0.9%		

Figure 3.18 - Table Showing Richness in Children's Graves from MH-LH I at Myloi

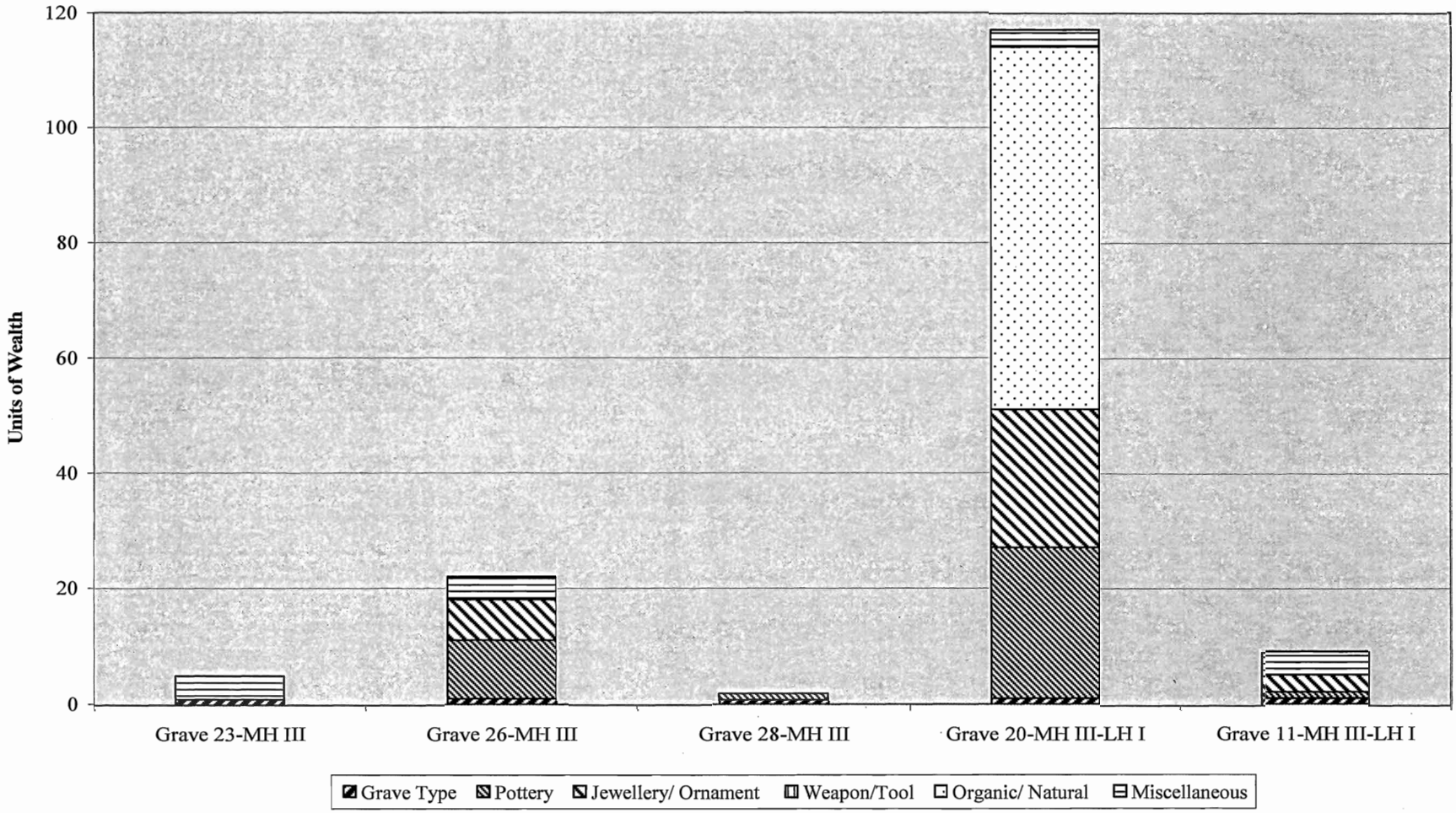

Figure 3.19 - Histogram Showing Richness in Children's Graves from Prosymna MH-LH I

	GRAVE NAME							
		Grave 23-MH III	Grave 26-MH III	Grave 28-MH III	Grave 20-MH III-LH I	Grave 11-MH III-LH I	TOTAL	TOTAL PERCENT
CATEGORY TYPE	**Grave Type**	1	1	1	1	1	5	3.2%
	Pottery	0	10	1	26	1	38	24.5%
	Jewellery/ Ornament	0	7	0	24	3	34	21.9%
	Weapon/Tool	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%
	Organic/ Natural	0	0	0	63	0	63	40.6%
	Miscellaneous	4	4	0	3	4	15	9.7%
	TOTAL	5	22	2	117	9	155	100.0%
PERCENT OF TOTAL WEALTH (MYLOI)		3.2%	14.2%	1.3%	75.5%	5.8%		
PERCENT OF TOTAL WEALTH (ALL)		0.3%	1.2%	0.1%	6.5%	0.5%		

Figure 3.20- Table Showing Richness in Children's Graves from MH-LH I at Prosymna

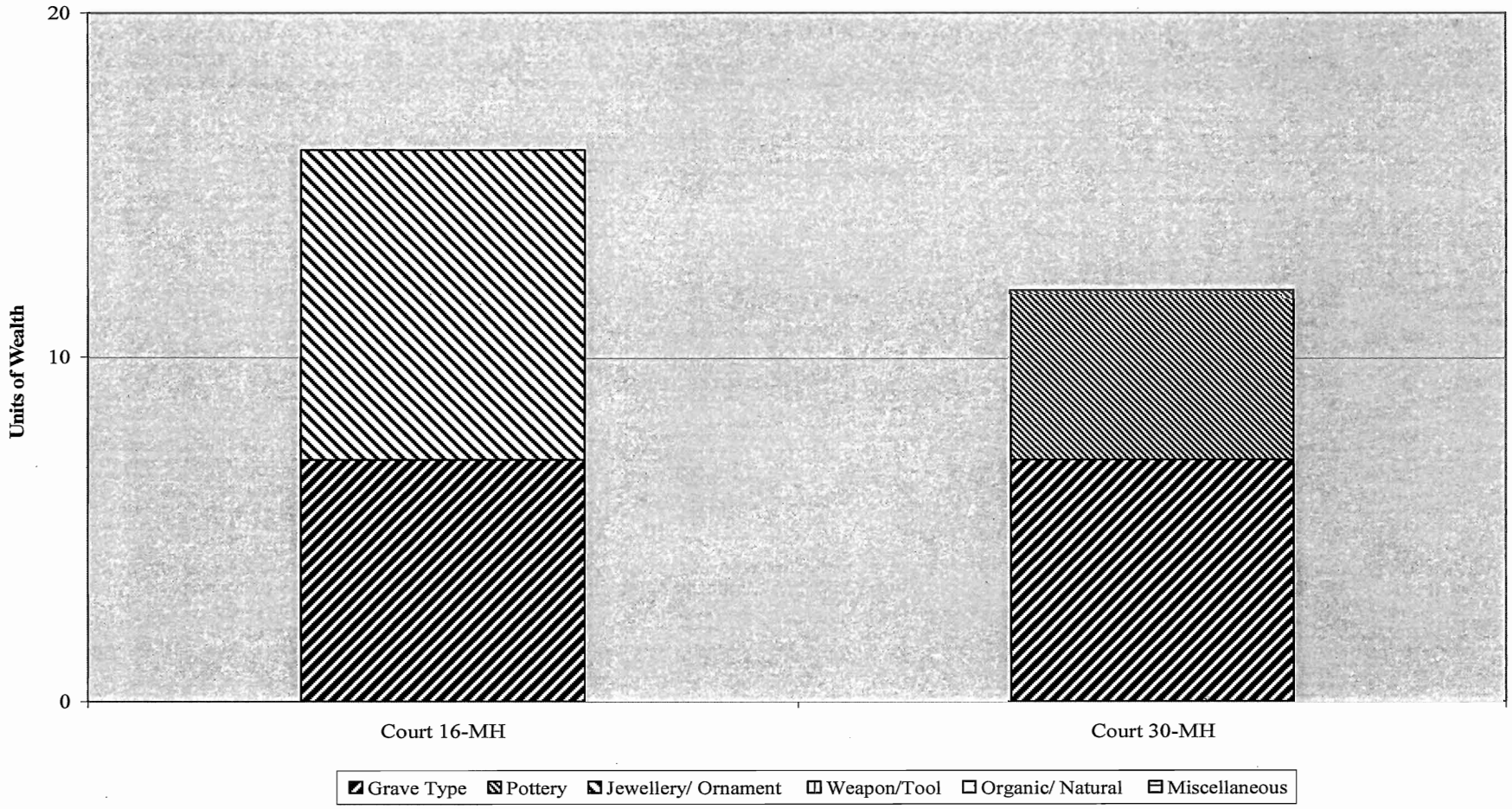

Figure 3.21 - Histogram Showing Richness in Children's Graves from Tiryns MH-LH I

		GRAVE NAME			
		Court 16-MH	Court 30-MH	TOTAL	TOTAL PERCENT
CATEGORY TYPE	Grave Type	7	7	14	50.0%
	Pottery	0	5	5	17.9%
	Jewellery/ Ornament	9	0	9	32.1%
	Weapon/Tool	0	0	0	0.0%
	Organic/ Natural	0	0	0	0.0%
	Miscellaneous	0	0	0	0.0%
	TOTAL	16	12	28	100.0%
PERCENT OF TOTAL WEALTH (MYLOI)		57.1%	42.9%		
PERCENT OF TOTAL WEALTH (ALL)		0.9%	0.7%		

Figure 3.22 - Table Showing Richness in Children's Graves from MH-LH I at Tiryns

Grave Name	Grave Type		Pottery		Jewellery/ Ornament		Weapon/Tool		Organic/ Natural		Miscellaneous		TOTAL WEALTH	TOTAL PERCENT WITHIN CATEGORY	PERCENT OF TOTAL NUMBER
MIDDLE HELLADIC (MH)															
Argos-Tzafas Plot XI-MH	7	58.3%	5	41.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	12	2.2%	0.7%
Tzafas Plot VII-MH	7	50.0%	1	7.1%	0	0.0%	6	42.9%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	14	2.5%	0.8%
Secteur δ-MH	7	77.8%	2	22.2%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	9	1.6%	0.5%
Asine-MH90-MH	1	10.0%	5	50.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4	40.0%	10	1.8%	0.6%
MH87-MH	2	22.2%	2	22.2%	0	0.0%	5	55.6%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	9	1.6%	0.5%
MH85-MH	1	20.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4	80.0%	5	0.9%	0.3%
MH73-MH	6	54.5%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	45.5%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	11	2.0%	0.6%
MH72-MH	6	54.5%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	45.5%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	11	2.0%	0.6%
MH69-MH	1	20.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4	80.0%	5	0.9%	0.3%
MH67-MH	1	8.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	11	91.7%	12	2.2%	0.7%
MH65-MH	1	12.5%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	7	87.5%	8	1.4%	0.4%
MH64-MH	1	12.5%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	7	87.5%	8	1.4%	0.4%
MH63-MH	1	16.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	83.3%	6	1.1%	0.3%
MH39-MH	1	33.3%	2	66.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	0.5%	0.2%
MH1972-7-MH	4	57.1%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	42.9%	0	0.0%	7	1.3%	0.4%
MH1970-7-MH	4	40.0%	0	0.0%	6	60.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	10	1.8%	0.6%
MH12-MH	2	50.0%	2	50.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4	0.7%	0.2%
B33-MH	1	20.0%	0	0.0%	3	60.0%	0	0.0%	1	20.0%	0	0.0%	5	0.9%	0.3%
Lerna-A11-MH	1	16.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	83.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	6	1.1%	0.3%
A12-MH	2	25.0%	6	75.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	8	1.4%	0.4%
A5-MH	5	50.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	50.0%	0	0.0%	10	1.8%	0.6%

Figure 3.23 - Total Wealth Ranking of Child Grave Assemblages from the MH-LH I Periods of the Argolid

Grave Name	Grave Type		Pottery		Jewellery/ Ornament		Weapon/Tool		Organic/ Natural		Miscellaneous		TOTAL WEALTH	TOTAL PERCENT WITHIN CATEGORY	PERCENT OF TOTAL NUMBER
MIDDLE HELLADIC (MH)															
A7-MH	1	16.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	83.3%	0	0.0%	6	1.1%	0.3%
A9-MH	7	58.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	41.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	12	2.2%	0.7%
B19-MH	1	20.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4	80.0%	0	0.0%	5	0.9%	0.3%
BA3-MH	7	30.4%	0	0.0%	16	69.6%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	23	4.2%	1.3%
BC6-MH	5	71.4%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	28.6%	0	0.0%	7	1.3%	0.4%
BD24-MH	2	25.0%	6	75.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	8	1.4%	0.4%
BD28-MH	2	25.0%	6	75.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	8	1.4%	0.4%
BE10-MH	1	7.7%	0	0.0%	12	92.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	13	2.3%	0.7%
BE12-MH	7	63.6%	4	36.4%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	11	2.0%	0.6%
BE13+1-MH	14	73.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	26.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	19	3.4%	1.1%
BE15-MH	7	70.0%	0	0.0%	3	30.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	10	1.8%	0.6%
BE17-MH	7	70.0%	0	0.0%	3	30.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	10	1.8%	0.6%
BE29-MH	2	20.0%	8	80.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	10	1.8%	0.6%
BE3-MH	4	80.0%	1	20.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	0.9%	0.3%
BE31-MH	2	16.7%	7	58.3%	3	25.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	12	2.2%	0.7%
BE9-MH	1	16.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	83.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	6	1.1%	0.3%
D19-MH	1	20.0%	0	0.0%	4	80.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	0.9%	0.3%
D8-MH	4	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4	0.7%	0.2%
DC3-MH	7	58.3%	0	0.0%	5	41.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	12	2.2%	0.7%
DE10-MH	1	3.8%	0	0.0%	25	96.2%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	26	4.7%	1.4%
DE15-MH	1	25.0%	0	0.0%	3	75.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4	0.7%	0.2%
DE22-MH	7	77.8%	2	22.2%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	9	1.6%	0.5%
DE27-MH	7	26.9%	0	0.0%	10	38.5%	5	19.2%	4	15.4%	0	0.0%	26	4.7%	1.4%

Figure 3.23 - Total Wealth Ranking of Child Grave Assemblages from the MH-LH I Periods of the Argolid (continued)

Grave Name	Grave Type		Pottery		Jewellery/ Ornament		Weapon/Tool		Organic/ Natural		Miscellaneous		TOTAL WEALTH	TOTAL PERCENT WITHIN CATEGORY	PERCENT OF TOTAL NUMBER
MIDDLE HELLADIC (MH)															
DE33-MH	1	16.7%	3	50.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	33.3%	0	0.0%	6	1.1%	0.3%
DE42-MH	1	3.3%	0	0.0%	29	96.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	30	5.4%	1.7%
DE46-MH	7	70.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	30.0%	0	0.0%	10	1.8%	0.6%
DE50-MH	2	22.2%	7	77.8%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	9	1.6%	0.5%
DE51-MH	4	66.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	33.3%	0	0.0%	6	1.1%	0.3%
DE6-MH	4	23.5%	0	0.0%	4	23.5%	7	41.2%	2	11.8%	0	0.0%	17	3.1%	0.9%
DE64-MH	1	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	0.2%	0.1%
Prehistoric Cemetery 1b/2-MH	3	60.0%	2	40.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	0.9%	0.3%
Prehistoric Cemetery 28-MH	5	35.7%	0	0.0%	9	64.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	14	2.5%	0.8%
Prehistoric Cemetery 34-MH	2	50.0%	2	50.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4	0.7%	0.2%
Court 16-MH	7	43.8%	0	0.0%	9	56.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	16	2.9%	0.9%
Court 30-MH	7	58.3%	5	41.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	12	2.2%	0.7%
TOTALS-MH PERIOD	**204**	**36.8%**	**78**	**14.1%**	**144**	**26.0%**	**53**	**9.6%**	**33**	**6.0%**	**42**	**7.6%**	**554**	**100.0%**	**30.6%**

Figure 3.23 - Total Wealth Ranking of Child Grave Assemblages from the MH-LH I Periods of the Argolid (continued)

Grave Name	Grave Type		Pottery		Jewellery/ Ornament		Weapon/Tool		Organic/ Natural		Miscellaneous		TOTAL WEALTH	TOTAL PERCENT WITHIN CATEGORY	PERCENT OF TOTAL NUMBER
MIDDLE HELLADIC I (MH I)															
MH11-MH I	2	50.0%	2	50.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4	14.3%	0.2%
BD4-MH I	1	12.5%	7	87.5%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	8	28.6%	0.4%
DE68-MH I	2	12.5%	9	56.3%	0	0.0%	5	31.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	16	57.1%	0.9%
TOTALS-MH I PERIOD	**5**	**17.9%**	**18**	**64.3%**	**0**	**0.0%**	**5**	**17.9%**	**0**	**0.0%**	**0**	**0.0%**	**28**	**100.0%**	**1.5%**

Figure 3.23 - Total Wealth Ranking of Child Grave Assemblages from the MH-LH I Periods of the Argolid (continued)

Grave Name	Grave Type		Pottery		Jewellery/ Ornament		Weapon/Tool		Organic/ Natural		Miscellaneous		TOTAL WEALTH	TOTAL PERCENT WITHIN CATEGORY	PERCENT OF TOTAL NUMBER
MIDDLE HELLADIC II (MH II)															
Deiras 1-MH II?	2	22.2%	4	44.4%	3	33.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	9	16.1%	0.5%
MH34-MH II	6	85.7%	1	14.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	7	12.5%	0.4%
A10-MH II	7	53.8%	1	7.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	38.5%	0	0.0%	13	23.2%	0.7%
BD27-MH II	1	50.0%	1	50.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	3.6%	0.1%
D21-MH II	1	11.1%	6	66.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	22.2%	0	0.0%	9	16.1%	0.5%
DE30-MH II	1	10.0%	2	20.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	7	70.0%	0	0.0%	10	17.9%	0.6%
Prehistoric Cemetery V-MH II	5	83.3%	1	16.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	6	10.7%	0.3%
TOTALS-MH II PERIOD	**23**	**41.1%**	**16**	**28.6%**	**3**	**5.4%**	**0**	**0.0%**	**14**	**25.0%**	**0**	**0.0%**	**56**	**100.0%**	**3.1%**

Figure 3.23 - Total Wealth Ranking of Child Grave Assemblages from the MH-LH I Periods of the Argolid (continued)

Grave Name	Grave Type		Pottery		Jewellery/ Ornament		Weapon/Tool		Organic/ Natural		Miscellaneous		TOTAL WEALTH	TOTAL PERCENT WITHIN CATEGORY	PERCENT OF TOTAL NUMBER
MIDDLE HELLADIC II-III (MH II-III)															
MH35-MH II-MH III	1	20.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4	80.0%	0	0.0%	5	9.8%	0.3%
BD6-MH II-MH III	4	25.0%	12	75.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	16	31.4%	0.9%
BE6-MH II-MH III	4	57.1%	3	42.9%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	7	13.7%	0.4%
Grave V MH II-MH III	6	35.3%	7	41.2%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4	23.5%	17	33.3%	0.9%
B12-MH II-MH III	1	16.7%	5	83.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	6	11.8%	0.3%
TOTALS-MH II-III	**16**	**31.4%**	**27**	**52.9%**	**0**	**0.0%**	**0**	**0.0%**	**4**	**7.8%**	**4**	**7.8%**	**51**	**100.0%**	**2.8%**

Figure 3.23 - Total Wealth Ranking of Child Grave Assemblages from the MH-LH I Periods of the Argolid (continued)

Grave Name	Grave Type		Pottery		Jewellery/ Ornament		Weapon/Tool		Organic/ Natural		Miscellaneous		TOTAL WEALTH	TOTAL PERCENT WITHIN CATEGORY	PERCENT OF TOTAL NUMBER
MIDDLE HELLADIC III/A/B (MH III/A/B)															
Necropole-MH III	0	0.0%	6	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	6	1.8%	0.3%
B15-MH III	4	14.8%	5	18.5%	17	63.0%	0	0.0%	1	3.7%	0	0.0%	27	7.9%	1.5%
B29-MH III	1	50.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	50.0%	0	0.0%	2	0.6%	0.1%
MH10-MH III	2	33.3%	2	33.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	33.3%	0	0.0%	6	1.8%	0.3%
MH32-MH III	6	40.0%	9	60.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	15	4.4%	0.8%
BC2-MH III	5	41.7%	7	58.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	12	3.5%	0.7%
BE30-MH III	1	33.3%	2	66.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	0.9%	0.2%
D5-MH III	5	26.3%	14	73.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	19	5.6%	1.1%
Shaft Grave Ξ -1-MH III	10	50.0%	10	50.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	20	5.9%	1.1%
Grave 23-MH III	1	20.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4	80.0%	5	1.5%	0.3%
Grave 26-MH III	1	4.5%	10	45.5%	7	31.8%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4	18.2%	22	6.5%	1.2%
Grave 28-MH III	1	50.0%	1	50.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	0.6%	0.1%
Shaft Grave Λ -2-MH III A	10	58.8%	7	41.2%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	17	5.0%	0.9%
Shaft Grave I-MH III B	10	11.9%	34	40.5%	9	10.7%	24	28.6%	7	8.3%	0	0.0%	84	24.6%	4.6%
Shaft Grave Ξ-MH IIIB	10	9.9%	46	45.5%	30	29.7%	0	0.0%	5	5.0%	10	9.9%	101	29.6%	5.6%
TOTALS-MH III/A/B	**67**	**19.6%**	**153**	**44.9%**	**63**	**18.5%**	**24**	**7.0%**	**16**	**4.7%**	**18**	**5.3%**	**341**	**100.0%**	**18.9%**

Figure 3.23 - Total Wealth Ranking of Child Grave Assemblages from the MH-LH I Periods of the Argolid (continued)

Grave Name	Grave Type		Pottery		Jewellery/ Ornament		Weapon/Tool		Organic/ Natural		Miscellaneous		TOTAL WEALTH	TOTAL PERCENT WITHIN CATEGORY	PERCENT OF TOTAL NUMBER
MIDDLE HELLADIC III-LATE HELLADIC I (MH III-LH I)															
Tumulus E:5-MH III-LH I	6	12.5%	12	25.0%	6	12.5%	24	50.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	48	12.4%	2.7%
Tumulus Δ: 10-MH III-LH I	6	5.3%	11	9.6%	37	32.5%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	60	52.6%	114	29.5%	6.3%
Tumulus Γ:xxi MH III-LH I	6	20.0%	24	80.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	30	7.8%	1.7%
Tumulus Γ:70 MH III-LH I	2	4.7%	2	4.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	39	90.7%	43	11.1%	2.4%
MH18-MH III-LH I	6	35.3%	5	29.4%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	6	35.3%	0	0.0%	17	4.4%	0.9%
BD1-MH III-LH I	7	87.5%	1	12.5%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	8	2.1%	0.4%
Grave 20-MH III-LH	1	0.9%	26	22.2%	24	20.5%	0	0.0%	63	53.8%	3	2.6%	117	30.3%	6.5%
Grave 11-MH III-LH I	1	11.1%	1	11.1%	3	33.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4	44.4%	9	2.3%	0.5%
TOTALS-MH III-LH I	**35**	**9.1%**	**82**	**21.2%**	**70**	**18.1%**	**24**	**6.2%**	**69**	**17.9%**	**106**	**27.5%**	**386**	**100.0%**	**21.3%**

Figure 3.23 - Total Wealth Ranking of Child Grave Assemblages from the MH-LH I Periods of the Argolid (continued)

Grave Name	Grave Type		Pottery		Jewellery/ Ornament		Weapon/Tool		Organic/ Natural		Miscellaneous		TOTAL WEALTH	TOTAL PERCENT WITHIN CATEGORY	PERCENT OF TOTAL NUMBER
LATE HELLADIC I/A (LH I/A)															
D17-LH I	2	16.7%	6	50.0%	4	33.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	12	3.1%	0.7%
DC2-LH I	7	25.9%	12	44.4%	3	11.1%	0	0.0%	5	18.5%	0	0.0%	27	6.9%	1.5%
DC4-LH I	7	15.2%	10	21.7%	24	52.2%	0	0.0%	5	10.9%	0	0.0%	46	11.7%	2.5%
DE39-LH I	7	87.5%	1	12.5%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	8	2.0%	0.4%
Shaft Grave M-LH IA	10	6.7%	82	54.7%	48	32.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	10	6.7%	150	38.2%	8.3%
Shaft Grave O-LH IA	5	3.3%	0	0.0%	37	24.7%	0	0.0%	10	6.7%	98	65.3%	150	38.2%	8.3%
TOTALS-LH I/A	**38**	**9.7%**	**111**	**28.2%**	**116**	**29.5%**	**0**	**0.0%**	**20**	**5.1%**	**108**	**27.5%**	393	**100.0%**	**21.7%**
TOTAL (ALL)	**388**	**21.4%**	**485**	**26.8%**	**396**	**21.9%**	**106**	**5.9%**	**156**	**8.6%**	**278**	**15.4%**	**1809**		

Figure 3.23 - Total Wealth Ranking of Child Grave Assemblages from the MH-LH I Periods of the Argolid (continued)

MH	0.5%
MH I	0.5%
MH II	0.4%
MH II-III	0.6%
MH III	1.3%
MH III-LH I	2.7%
LH I	3.6%

Figure 3.24 - AVERAGE PERCENT OF WEALTH PER PERIOD

THE 1-4 UNIT CHILD					
Location/Site	**Grave Name**	**Period**	**Age-at-Death**	**Total Wealth**	**(Category Wealth Total/Wealth Grand Total)**
Lerna	DE64	MH	7 1/2 Months	1	
Lerna	BD27	MH II	4 1/2 Years	2	
Asine	B29	MH III	0-6 Months (2 Infants)	2	
Prosymna	28	MH III	?-child?	2	
Asine	MH39	MH	?-very young child	3	
Lerna	BE30	MH III	11 Months + 4 Adults	3	2%
Asine	MH12	MH	?-Young Person	4	
Lerna	D8	MH	6 Months	4	
Lerna	DE15	MH	4 Months	4	
Mycenae	Prehistoric Cemetery 34	MH	?-infant	4	
Asine	MH11	MH I	?-child	4	
Total Wealth of 1-4 Unit Child				**33**	

Figure 4.1 - Category Wealth

THE 5-9 UNIT CHILD					
Location/Site	**Grave Name**	**Period**	**Age-at-Death**	**Total Wealth**	**(Category Wealth Total/Wealth Grand Total)**
Asine	B33	MH	2 Months (2 Infants)	5	
Asine	MH69	MH	?-child	5	
Asine	MH85	MH	9 Months	5	
Lerna	B19	MH	1 Month	5	
Lerna	BE3	MH	1 Month	5	
Lerna	D19	MH	6 Months	5	
Mycenae	Prehistoric Cemetery 1b/2	MH	? (2-3 infants)	5	
Prosymna	23	MH III	?-child (+ adult)	5	
Asine	MH35	MH II-MH III?	4 Months	5	
Asine	MH63	MH	5 1/2 Years	6	
Lerna	A11	MH	6 Months	6	
Lerna	A7	MH	1 Month + 5 1/2 M.(2 Infants)	6	
Lerna	BE9	MH	9 Months + 3 1/2 Months	6	
Lerna	DE33	MH	3 1/2 Months	6	
Lerna	DE51	MH	4 1/2 Months	6	
Mycenae	Prehistoric Cemetery V	MH II?	10 Years?	6	
Argos	Necropole	MH III	?-Infant	6	
Asine	MH10	MH III	?-child	6	14%
Asine	B12	MH II-MH III	?-infant	6	
Asine	MH1972-7	MH	12-18 Months	7	
Lerna	BC6	MH	4 1/2 Years	7	
Asine	MH34	MH II	?-child	7	
Lerna	BE6	MH II-MH III	12 Months	7	
Lerna	DE39	LH I	6 1/2 Years	8	
Asine	MH64	MH	5 1/2 Months	8	
Asine	MH65	MH	1-1/2 month and/or 5 1/2 Month	8	
Lerna	A12	MH	11 Months	8	
Lerna	BD24	MH	6 Months	8	
Lerna	BD28	MH	3 1/2 Months	8	
Lerna	BD4	MH I?	12 Months	8	
Lerna	BD1	MH III-LH I	1 1/2 Years	8	
Argos	Secteur Delta	MH	?-infant	9	
Asine	MH87	MH	8 Months	9	
Lerna	DE22	MH	5 1/2 Years	9	
Lerna	DE50	MH	4 1/2 Months	9	
Lerna	D21	MH II	3 1/2 Years	9	
Argos	Deiras 1	MH II?	6-7 Years	9	
Prosymna	11	MH III-LH I	?-child (+ adult)	9	
Total Wealth of 5-9 Unit Child				**260**	

Figure 4.2 - Category Wealth

THE 10-25 UNIT CHILD					
Location/Site	Grave Name	Period	Age-at-Death	Total Wealth	Category Wealth Total/Wealth Grand Total
Asine	MH1970-7	MH	3-4 Years	10	
Asine	MH90	MH	Child + Adult?	10	
Lerna	A5	MH	8 Years	10	
Lerna	BE15	MH	9 Months	10	
Lerna	BE17	MH	9 Months	10	
Lerna	BE29	MH	0-6 Months	10	
Lerna	DE46	MH	4 1/2 Years	10	
Lerna	DE30	MH II	18-24 Months	10	
Asine	MH72	MH	Newborn+ 2 Crania	11	
Asine	MH73	MH	?-very young child	11	
Lerna	BE12	MH	6 Months	11	
Lerna	D17	LH I	5 Years	12	
Argos	Tzafas Plot XI	MH	?-child	12	
Asine	MH67	MH	9 Months	12	
Lerna	A9	MH	4 1/2 Years	12	
Lerna	BE31	MH	?-child?	12	
Lerna	DC3	MH	?-child	12	
Tiryns	Court 30	MH	?-child	12	
Lerna	BC2	MH III	9 1/2 Years	12	
Lerna	BE10	MH	2 Months	13	
Lerna	A10	MH II	6 Years	13	
Argos	Tzafas Plot VII	MH	?-child	14	27%
Mycenae	Prehistoric Cemetery 28	MH	?-child	14	
Asine	MH32	MH III?	?-Infant	15	
Tiryns	Court 16	MH	?-child	16	
Lerna	DE68	MH I	1/2-1 Month+ 5-10 Years	16	
Lerna	BD6	MH II-MH III	8 Months	16	
Lerna	DE6	MH	11 Months	17	
Mycenae	Shaft Grave Lambda-2	MH IIIA	5 Years (+ adult male)	17	
Asine	MH18	MH III-LH I	?-Small Child	17	
Myloi	V	MH II-MH III	?-child?	17	
Lerna	BE13+14	MH	1 Month + 1 Month	19	
Lerna	D5	MH III	5 Years	19	
Mycenae	Shaft Grave Xi-1	MH III	2 Years	20	
Prosymna	26	MH III	?-child	22	
Lerna	BA3	MH	5 Years	23	
Total Wealth of 10-25 Unit Child				**497**	

Figure 4.3 - Category Wealth

THE 26-50 UNIT CHILD					
Location/Site	**Grave Name**	**Period**	**Age-at-Death**	**Total Wealth**	**(Category Wealth Total/Wealth Grand Total)**
Lerna	DE10	MH	12 Months	26	17%
Lerna	DE27	MH	6 1/2 Years	26	
Lerna	DC2	LH I	3 Years	27	
Asine	B15	MH III	10 Years	27	
Lerna	DE42	MH	11 Months	30	
Argos	Tumulus Gamma	MH III-LH I	?-child	30	
Argos	Tumulus Gamma:70	MH III-LH I	?-child+adult	43	
Lerna	DC4	LH I	?-child	46	
Argos	Tumulus E	MH III-LH I	6 Years	48	
Total Wealth of 26-50 Unit Child				303	

Figure 4.4 - Category Wealth

THE 51-150 UNIT CHILD					
Location/Site	**Grave Name**	**Period**	**Age-at-Death**	**Total Wealth**	**(Category Wealth Total/Wealth Grand Total)**
Mycenae	Shaft Grave I	MH IIIB	?-child (+ adult male)	84	40%
Mycenae	Shaft Grave Xi	MH IIIB	5-6 Years (+ adult?)	101	
Argos	Tumulus Delta	MH III-LH I	?-Young Child	114	
Prosymna	20	MH III-LH I	?-child	117	
Mycenae	Shaft Grave M	LH IA	? (2 Children)	150	
Mycenae	Shaft Grave O	LH IA	?-child (+ adult)	150	
Total Wealth of 50-150 Unit Child				**716**	
TOTAL WEALTH OF ALL CATEGORIES				**1809**	

Figure 4.5 –Category Wealth